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Major General Interviewed on Force Reductions

PM2812171188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Major General V. Kuklev, deputy chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate, by own observer M. Ponomarev: "On the Principle of Reasonable Sufficiency"; date, place not given; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Major General V. Kuklev, deputy chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate, in an interview to a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer, describes some of the problems connected with the Soviet Union's decision to unilaterally reduce its Armed Forces, and the sometimes unscrupulous juggling with figures in which NATO propaganda services engage.

[Ponomarev] A new historical reality is taking shape before our eyes—the switch from the principle of overarmament to the principle of reasonable sufficiency for the purpose of defense. This switch was manifested most strikingly in the decision of the Soviet Union, announced by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the 48th UN General Assembly session, to unilaterally reduce its Armed Forces and armaments. In connection with this decision both Soviet people and the international public are showing a great interest in the question of the correlation of forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. In the West all kinds of data are being published in this context, sometimes highly contradictory data. We would very much like to hear your opinion on this question, Vladimir Aleksandrovich. [Ponomarev ends]

"Unfortunately"—Maj Gen V. Kuklev replies—"many of the Western publications are wide of the mark when it comes to facts and cannot, therefore, be regarded as trustworthy. Just take a look at this"—my interlocutor picks up a thickish brochure from the table and passes it to me—"it was published very recently at NATO headquarters in Brussels. The title page reads: 'Armed Forces and Conventional Armaments in Europe. The Facts.' The unscrupulousness of the authors of this brochure is obvious. Its content does not correspond to the title. It examines the correlation of the two military groupings' forces in Europe not by taking all available data into consideration but by means of a selective approach to them. As is known, the armed forces are made up of the ground forces, the air and air defense forces, and naval forces. The brochure makes no mention of naval forces at all. When speaking about the air force, the authors include everything right down to transport aircraft. Yet their survey of the artillery only accounts for systems with a caliber of 100 mm or more. As a result they arrive at the conclusion that the Warsaw Pact has a considerable advantage. However, if all systems are taken into account, the correlation of forces is different."

[Ponomarev] But there are also some serious publications that cite data on the correlation of forces that are more or less objective, are there not?

[Kuklev] Yes, there are. With some reservations, it is true, but we view on the whole positively, the publications of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the London International Institute for Strategic Studies, and a number of others.

I can, for instance, cite an article published in the British journal NEW STATESMAN by P. Rogers and M. Dando [name as transliterated] of Bradford University. They criticize the data published in the West on the correlation of forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and show on the basis of specific facts that NATO not only does not lag behind the Warsaw Pact as regards the numerical strength of the armed forces and the quantity of armaments but even has a considerable advantage in respect of a number of items. At the same time the journal mentions those types of armaments in which the Warsaw Pact has an advantage. This applies above all to tanks, of which we have more than NATO. As you can see, when people adopt an unbiased approach, there is no quarrel.

[Ponomarev] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, could you quote more examples, please? After all, for years and years we kept telling our readers that people in the West are constantly distorting the truth. It seems pointless though, to distort the truth in documents they are writing for themselves, as it were, does it not?

[Kuklev] Yes, of course. Only recently the General Accounting Office [glavnoye schetnoye byuro], the Congressional Research Service, and the Office of Technology Assessment prepared a special report in Washington under the title "NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Assessment of the Balance of Conventional Armed Forces." This is a serious document, even if it is not possible to agree with everything it contains. However, the main conclusion that can be drawn from the content of this document, specifically that the Warsaw Pact does not have a decisive superiority over NATO in any respect, is quite correct.

[Ponomarev] A few days ago I read the remarks of the well-known U.S. Senator S. Nunn on our initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations. Evaluating these initiatives—and in particular the reduction of armed forces and armaments—on the whole positively, the worthy senator raises the question of the verification of this reduction, because otherwise, he claims, the perfidious Russians are bound to deceive us. What can you say in this context?

[Kuklev] The decision to carry out this reduction is our own, unilateral decision. It is not the result of an agreement reached at talks with NATO countries, and even less so a result of some kind of demands or pressure on their part. Therefore in principle the senator's demands for verification of some kind sound strange, from a formal point of view.

However, I must say that we have no intention of concealing information about either the withdrawal of our forces and armaments from the territory of allied countries or about the reduction of Armed Forces and armaments inside our country. The implementation of these measures will take place in conditions of the greatest possible openness, including invitations to foreign observers and representatives of the mass media to witness the withdrawal of our forces from the territory of our allies to enable the public to see for itself that the announced measures are being implemented.

In general, we favor strict mutual verification. We favor thorough checks, including on-site inspections, once sufficient data on armed forces and armaments have been exchanged between the Warsaw Pact and NATO for talks on their reduction in Europe to open; we favor verification—the most rigorous verification—of all disarmament processes.

[Ponomarev] In their letters to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA many readers ask why it has been decided to reduce the Armed Forces and armaments by precisely the following figures—500,000 servicemen, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 aircraft?

[Kuklev] This is a question our Western partners are also asking frequently: Why do our proposals on this or that question include precisely this or that figure and no other? (Vladimir Aleksandrovich smiles.) Naturally, much thought has gone into this. Everything has been well weighed. The most varied factors have been taken into consideration. I will try to mention at least some of them.

First, the reductions must be significant. It is possible to mention here that the reduction of the numerical strength of the Soviet Army by 500,000 men is comparable to the whole of the FRG Bundeswehr—495,000—and 10,000 tanks are equivalent approximately to the hardware of 30 U.S. tank divisions.

Second, the reductions must not appreciably damage the defense capability of the USSR and of our allies—the security of the Soviet Union and all the Warsaw Pact states must be guaranteed.

Third, the proposed reductions fit in, both quantitatively and qualitatively, with the defensive Soviet military doctrine, they are in keeping with the principle of reasonable sufficiency for the purpose of defense. They are evidence of the unity of the political and military-technical aspects of our military doctrine and represent an important step forward in its implementation.

[Ponomarev] Our readers want to know over what period the cuts will be implemented. What can you say in this context?

[Kuklev] The entire reduction will be carried out in 1989-1990. Timetables are currently being drafted for the disbandment of the units in question, including those that are being withdrawn from the GDR, CSSR, Hungary, and Mongolia. The question of elaborating a schedule for the proposed reduction of armaments within the same period is also being considered.

[Ponomarev] In this case, another question arises. It is well known that the Warsaw Pact member states have proposed to NATO members that both sides reduce their armed forces in Europe by 500,000 men each. What bearing does this proposal have on our decision to implement a half-million cut. Does it remain in force even now?

[Kuklev] Our reductions of both the Armed Forces and armaments announced by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations are to be carried out unilaterally and are not connected with the Vienna mandate talks. All our former proposals to NATO countries remain in force. I would like to recall that they make provision for a mutual reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe which is to be carried out in three stages. During the first stage imbalances and asymmetries are to be eliminated; during the second stage the armed forces of the two military alliances are to be reduced by approximately 500,000 men each; and during the third stage a further reduction of armed forces and armaments is to be carried out down to a level of defensive sufficiency.

Our unilateral reductions (the general develops his thought) naturally cannot fail to affect the results of the first stage because they will introduce substantial changes in the present correlation of military forces in Europe.

[Ponomarev] When can the elaboration of a mandate in Vienna and the opening of the talks themselves be expected?

[Kuklev] The elaboration of a mandate at the consultations of 23 countries in Vienna has entered the final stage and a definitive decision can be expected early in the new year. Intensive work is under way. The consultation participants have not even dispersed for the Christmas vacations which are traditional in the West. They are working.

As soon as the mandate is ready there are no visible obstacles to the opening of the substantive talks themselves—if not in January, then most certainly in the first quarter of the new year.

[Ponomarev] How should NATO countries react to our initiatives in your view, Vladimir Aleksandrovich? What can they do to lower the level of military confrontation?

[Kuklev] It is difficult to speak for the other side, of course. However, the NEW STATESMAN article which I mentioned earlier stated, for instance, that, as a response, NATO could freeze tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, eliminate nuclear artillery shells from the

bloc's arsenal, and reduce the arsenal of the U.S. strategic offensive forces by 2,000 nuclear charges, and also by a number of U.S. warships, especially attack aircraft carriers.

This, as I understand it, is the opinion of the authors of the article. According to the logic of the elimination of imbalances, NATO could reduce its tactical strike aviation. Incidentally, this is a matter for the NATO members themselves. It is for them to decide. However, it is important to note that the measures which we are taking are not just of great military importance, they are also a major political—and I stress political—step. And we have a right to expect an equally significant response from the other side.

[Ponomarev] I was about to thank the general for the detailed interview when he suddenly asked me a question.

[Kuklev] Why have you not asked me how, specifically, the structure of our units and formations which will remain in the GDR, CSSR, and Hungary will change after the reduction is implemented? I believe that the readers are not indifferent to this question.

So, all Soviet divisions that will remain on the territory of our allies will be reorganized. Their structure will differ from what it is today. The number of tanks within these divisions will be considerably reduced making them purely defensive, in line with our military doctrine. The withdrawal of airborne assault [desantno-sturmovykh] and airborne crossing [desantno-perepravochnyy] units with their equipment and combat hardware will serve the same aim.

[Ponomarev] Our conversation comes to an end. On behalf of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers I thank the general for the informative interview.

CSCE Delegate Comments on Force Cuts, Talks

PM2812155588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 88 p 3

[Interview in Vienna with Mikhail Petrovich Shelepin, member of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna CSCE meeting, by correspondent Yu. Popov under the rubric "Authoritative Opinion": "Clear Skies for Europe"; date not given]

[Text] Our country's new proposal for a unilateral reduction of armed forces and conventional arms, which was heard in M.S. Gorbachev's speech from the UN rostrum and elicited a broad positive response throughout the world, has, as it were, summed up this year—one of the most dynamic in the history of international relations.

Yu. Popov, our correspondent in Austria, asked Mikhail Petrovich Shelepin, member of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna CSCE meeting and an expert on arms issues, to say what awaits Europe and all mankind in the very near future.

[Popov] For many years we have all been somehow accustomed to the priority significance of the topic of nuclear disarmament. And suddenly this shift toward conventional types of weapons. How is this to be accounted for?

[Shelepin] A whole series of agreements concerning the reduction and limitation of nuclear potentials was concluded during the postwar years. Definite positive experience has already been accumulated here. At the same time, however paradoxical it may seem, there is none with regard to conventional arms. Talks on the mutual reduction of these kinds of weapons in central Europe have now been continuing fruitlessly in Vienna for 15 years. And yet, according to numerous studies, states spend approximately 70-80 percent of their military expenditure on them.

As for the future talks on conventional arms and armed forces in Europe, their holding in parallel with a further exchange of opinions on the development of confidence-building measures in this region will make it possible to realize in practice the idea of going over to exclusively defensive doctrines.

It is perfectly obvious that the talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe must be conducted in a spirit of openness and on the basis of the new thinking, abandoning the old stereotypes.

The unilateral reduction announced by our country demonstrates a principled turn away from the rigid stereotype of mutual mistrust and suspicion toward the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense. This marks the start of the shaping of a new model for ensuring security not by means of mutual deterrence but thanks to the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust and a real lowering of military potentials to levels which prevent the accomplishment of large-scale offensive operations.

[Popov] One frequently hears in conversations with Western countries' representatives that, because of technological laggardness, the Soviet Union is not capable of creating [sozdavat] models of conventional kinds of arms at the level of Western standards. Could this not account for the demands of Western representatives regarding the need for a nonequivalent reduction in Soviet conventional arms? I have heard of such proportions: three Soviet tanks for one NATO tank, for example, or five Soviet aircraft for one, and so forth.

[Shelepin] I cannot speak with sufficient competence of the comparative qualitative characteristics of different kinds of conventional arms. At the same time the recent visit to the Soviet Union by U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci, his inspection of Soviet military hardware, and his corresponding statements in this regard attest that our armament is not inferior to Western analogs. At the same time the fact that we have somewhat overdone military building also tallies with the truth.

According to our program put forward in Budapest back in 1986, it is envisaged that the sides' imbalances and asymmetries with regard to particular types of conventional arms will be eliminated at the first stage. As a result, both we and the NATO countries must reach identical, agreed levels.

[Popov] But accurate data on all the kinds of arms to be reduced are needed here.

[Shelepin] Quite right. We envisage an exchange of information at the talks themselves so as to ascertain the real picture or, more accurately, establish the existing asymmetries. For example, we have more tanks than NATO. Therefore we will have to reduce more of them at the first stage. But at the same time there are certain kinds of arms in which NATO is superior to the Warsaw Pact. Tactical assault aircraft, for example. Here the other side must make an asymmetrical reduction. Then identical levels will be achieved.

[Popov] Where is the mandate of the talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms being discussed?

[Shelepin] At consultations within the framework of the Vienna CSCE meeting. Delegations from the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries are now tackling the elaboration of the future talks' general theses and so-called mandate, which outlines in general form their subject, the geographic zone, the aims and methods, and questions of verification.

[Popov] I would like to know what the new talks will be like and how they will differ in principle from the previous ones.

[Shelepin] Previously they did not cover all the NATO and Warsaw Pact states. It is now planned that all 16 North Atlantic bloc countries and the 7 Warsaw Pact states will participate. In addition, and this is very important, the geographic zone of the future talks is changing. They will now embrace not only the territories of the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the FRG, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg. There will also be discussion of the part of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, part of Turkey's Asian territory, and also our own Transcaucasus.

The Warsaw Pact countries have drawn up a well-balanced program for holding the future talks. The North Atlantic bloc states do not yet have a clear stand on this question. However, we hope that they will put their proposals to us in the very near future, and then the main work of bringing our positions closer will begin.

Conclusion of Vienna CSCE Talks in Sight

PM2812153188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Tosunyan dispatch: "Approaching the Homestretch"]

[Text] **Vienna—It has already become clear that the Vienna meeting of representatives of CSCE state will run over into 1989.**

It is well known that the Vienna meeting opened 4 November 1986 and almost approached the homestretch after 2 years of intensive talks. It was thought that it would be concluded before the Christmas holidays. But one more brief adjournment became necessary to put the finishing touches to the final document. The experts asked: Give us just a little more time. How much more time? Ambassador Rudolph Torowski, leader of the Austrian delegation, is firmly convinced that 2 weeks would be sufficient.

The final document will be finally edited and agreed upon in the first half of January. Proceeding from this premise, Alois Mock, foreign minister of the country which organized the meeting, has sent to his colleagues in all CSCE countries an invitation to come to Vienna for the 17-19 January 1989 ceremony to mark the conclusion of the forum.

Every hour is precious when the schedule is so tight, and this is why the delegations gave up their Christmas vacations and continue their work.

Progress at the talks was noticeably delayed by an argument which developed between the U.S. and French delegations regarding the participation of neutral and nonaligned countries in the talks between the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries on armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, which will follow the Vienna meeting.

Washington, London, and Ottawa are still delaying their final answer to the Soviet delegation's proposal to hold one of the three conferences on humanitarian cooperation in Moscow. They have no objection, but neither have they agreed to it. The U.S. and British delegations suddenly demanded a reduction of the number of post-Vienna CSCE events. This raised doubts about the Cyprus proposal for a meeting of experts on the peaceful solution of disputes emerging between countries, and is likely to thwart the holding of the planned forums on scientific problems in Italy and on cultural heritage in Krakow.

Unless these questions are finally settled, it would be hard to obtain agreement by all 35 countries on the adoption of the final document.

"Despite a certain delay with the elaboration of the final document, our delegation is in an optimistic mood," Ambassador Yu.B. Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna meeting, said in a conversation with me. "The progress achieved in Vienna is based on the universal interest displayed by CSCE states. It would have been impossible to achieve this progress without respect for the views and positions of other countries, without a display of toleration. Not everything always went smoothly at the talks. There were times when we felt the effect of past stereotypes and of obsolete views and ideas, but awareness of the need for a joint quest for approaches to improving relations between states, the

need for practical implementation of the idea of building a 'common European home' prevailed. Participants in the Vienna meeting showed tremendous interest in the new USSR initiatives announced by M.S. Gorbachev in New York on 7 December. These initiatives will give a new impetus to the CSCE process and will help to really reduce the level of military confrontation on our continent and to effect a practical switch to a defensive doctrine. Hot on the heels of the concluded Vienna meeting, they will help the launch and successful conduct of parallel talks on military aspects of European security—on further confidence-building measures and on conventional arms in Europe."

Chemical Control Experiment Completed in Gorkiy

LD2912114188 Moscow TASS in English 1112 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—A national experiment on chemical industry control that has been successfully completed in the city of Dzherzhinsk, Gorkiy region, is a step towards working out an international agreement on a chemical weapons ban, Viktor Karpov, USSR deputy foreign minister, believes. The leading Soviet expert in disarmament came to this conclusion after analysing the results of the national experiment on chemical control conducted at the Sintez Production Amalgamation of the USSR Chemical Industry Ministry on December 27.

The Soviet Union came up with a proposal last February to conduct an international experiment to test systematic control procedures at chemical factories which are to be included in a convention on a complete chemical weapons ban and the elimination of their stockpiles, Karpov said to a TASS diplomatic correspondent. The proposal was aimed at perfecting the control regime for the civilian chemical industry which should become a major component part of the convention.

The Soviet proposal met with broad support, Karpov continued. Many countries, including the U.S., Britain, West Germany, Italy, Sweden and the GDR, announced their decision to take part in the experiment. At the first stage all participants in the experiment should conduct it on a national level. The analysis of the results at the disarmament conference in Geneva will be followed by an international stage of the experiment with the participation of a representative group of experts from various countries.

Shevardnadze Addresses Soviet Consular Officials

PM2912130288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Restructuring and the Tasks of the Soviet Consular Service"]

[Text] A conference of USSR Foreign Ministry consular workers was held in Moscow 27-28 December. A report was delivered by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister.

We pin great hopes, he said, on the first conference in the history of the Soviet consular service, since we expect it to herald a new stage in the restructuring of the work of our diplomatic department.

The main subject on the agenda is the consular service and restructuring, the restructuring of the consular service in light of the 19th all-union party conference decisions and M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the 43d UN General Assembly session.

Our consular service was 70 years old in October. V.I. Lenin was present at its birth. That is a good reason to check our current practice against the provisions of Lenin's decree on consuls.

The consular service must be given back the status and function of one of the main instruments of foreign policy and an integral part of the diplomatic service.

Analysis of the work of the consular service reveals serious flaws. Chief among them is disregard for what is usually called the human factor, the human dimension. The service, which deals primarily with man, with people who have most need of professional protection of their interests in the difficult conditions of a foreign country, has been dehumanized—both in its internal structures, and in their external manifestations.

The humanization of the consular service, both in the sense of staffing it with top grade personnel and from the viewpoint of attentiveness to the main target of its operations—man—is one of the main objectives of its restructuring.

First and foremost, the minister noted, the principles of consular activity should be brought directly into line with the fundamental principles of the new political thinking and the priorities of the restructuring of international relations.

Events taking place in the world are ridding us of our old garb and furnishing us with a new form and new means of operation. An illustration of this is the earthquake in Armenia, whose shocks shook and destroyed the wall of isolation from the rest of the world. The earthquake did enormous damage and caused colossal losses, but at the same time it opened up to the world a new face of the country and people, their indivisibility from mankind's fate.

The major, most important policy of consular practice is to know, study, and summarize experience that is of interest to us and to ensure that people in consular districts know what is happening in the Soviet Union, what policy it pursues in international affairs, and what opportunities our restructuring opens up for organizing cooperation, exchanges, and contacts.

The reform of the economic system presupposes a wide diversification of foreign economic ties and the involvement of foreign capital, equipment, and technology to tackle urgent tasks in retooling our industry, organizing the production of modern machines and equipment, and increasing consumer goods production. The USSR's consular institutions abroad should make their contribution to this nationwide cause.

We ask consular workers to open their doors to Soviet citizens living permanently abroad—there are more than 150,000 of them now—and to turn their face to them, and make it a welcoming face. Because for them, that face is the face of the motherland.

The speaker put forward a number of specific ideas on improving legal and material aid to Soviet citizens living abroad, and called on workers at consular institutions to review their attitude to their compatriots abroad.

The expansion of the Soviet state's foreign ties, the increase in trips abroad by USSR citizens, and the growth in the number of foreigners visiting our country on business, scientific, cultural, and private affairs also require a radical renewal of the existing rules, norms, forms, and methods of consular activity.

In conclusion E.A. Shevardnadze said that the conference has provided very rich material on the basis of which we will now be able to formulate a general outline of the Soviet consular service. Much work lies ahead to summarize and analyze this material.

Says Restructuring Needed

LD2812191988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 28 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The conference of consular staff of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs ended in Moscow today. Here is Yuriy Rostov:

[Rostov] Among the main tasks of the consular services are protection of the interests of Soviet citizens abroad, arranging documentation for trips to other countries, and providing support for the work of foreigners in the Soviet Union. The interests of a great many people

depend on the effectiveness of consulates. A total of 200,000 Soviet citizens are currently on business abroad; 150,000 live abroad permanently, and our compatriots abroad number 20 million.

As Comrade Shevardnadze, who addressed the conference today, stressed, the consular services are in need of restructuring.

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] I see one of the main tasks of the conference in giving back to the consular services their status and function as one of the main instruments of foreign policy, and an inalienable integral part of the diplomatic service. It would seem that the volume alone of their activities is testimony to the advantage of it having such a position.

At the present time 194 soviet consular establishments are operating abroad, including 72 consulates general and consulates. At the same time, some 50 percent of all those who work in consular establishments abroad do not have professional training. Sixteen percent do not speak the languages of their countries of residence, and over 60 percent have no experience of consular work before going abroad.

What do these figures show? They show a complete disregard of what is commonly called the human factor, or a human dimension of matters.

The humanization of the consular services—both in the sense of its replenishment with first-class personnel, and from the point of view of paying attention to man as the main objective of their function—is one of the main tasks of their restructuring.

The standard and quality of the activities of this service should reflect and express the standard and quality of the processes of renewal, democratization, and—most importantly—the open conduct of affairs taking place in the country. [end recording]

[Rostov] Comrade Shevardnadze noted that the majority of consular employees are conscientious and hard-working. The fact that the role of the consular services has depreciated is not so much their fault, but rather their misfortune. Among examples of shortcomings in consular work Comrade Shevardnadze cited the situation in Mongolia. Among the Soviet citizens there, infringements of local legislation are being observed and crimes are being committed. All this does not help to strengthen friendly relations between the two countries. The situation in southwest Africa is not a happy one. The consulates in this region do not react urgently enough to instances of piratical attacks on Soviet ships.

There are, of course not a few positive examples too. These include the efficient work of the consular services during the hijacking of the Soviet aircraft to Israel, their work immediately after the earthquake in Armenia, and many others.

And there is one more problem. Comrade Shevardnadze described the attitude to Soviet people who have arrived in foreign countries not on business, but living their permanently or arriving on private matters, as unacceptably coarse and callous. [video shows pan shots of conference hall and Shevardnadze speaking from rostrum]

More on Shevardnadze Report

LD2812203388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A conference of consular employees of the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry ended in Moscow today. Comrade Shevardnadze delivered a report there.

This is the first conference in the history of the Soviet consular service and we are placing great hopes on it, said Comrade Shevardnadze. It will mark a new stage in the restructuring of the work of our diplomatic department.

The main subject on the agenda was consular service and its restructuring in light of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the 43d UN General Assembly session.

The events taking place in the world, Comrade Shevardnadze said, are removing our old clothes and providing us with a new form and new tools for our work. An example of this was the earthquake in Armenia which shook and demolished the wall of isolation from the rest of the world. The earthquake caused enormous losses and brought colossal casualties but at the same time it revealed to the world a new aspect of the country and the people, their inseparableness from the fate of mankind. In these extreme conditions our diplomatic, including consular, services have done a remarkable job.

A consular employee is not a clerk or an official but a politician. But today the political aspect of consular work is vague. Restructuring in the consular service should be subordinated to a single task: to respond more quickly, fully and competently to the needs and requirements of restructuring in the country and to assist in the solution of tasks faced by Soviet society.

The greatest danger for our consular service, Comrade Shevardnadze stressed, lies in falling behind the times, behind the momentum of our internal processes. This should be said not least of all because maybe the most deep-rooted thing in the consular service is a blind devotion to all manner of instructions and codes which as a rule are of a departmental nature. A review of old normative documents has started, but this work cannot be completed in 1-2 weeks. That is why in their practical work the comrades are obliged to be guided by the constitution and the laws of the country, as well as by statements made at the top political level.

The rapporteur presented a number of specific ideas on improving legal and material assistance for Soviet citizens residing abroad and called on the employees of consular establishments to reexamine their attitude toward the compatriots abroad. They drift toward their homeland, show enormous interest in the restructuring and are ready to contribute to its success and the development of contacts between their countries of residence and the Soviet Union. Ideas were expressed about the possibility of expanding the rights of the union republics in the field of international activity, in particular in the sphere of consular representation.

In conclusion Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze said: The conference has equipped us with very substantial material on whose basis we can now build an integrated concept of the Soviet consular service.

Gerasimov Holds 28 Dec News Conference

Shevardnadze Consular Address

LD2812152088 Moscow TASS in English 1506 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze's trip to Japan, the Philippines and the DPRK has been part of the Soviet Union's efforts to create durable bilateral and multilateral ties ensuring a better mutual understanding, deeper confidence, mutually-advantageous cooperation and, in the long run, a greater security for each and everyone, Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, told a briefing here today.

He noted that the negotiations in Tokyo opened a new chapter in Soviet-Japanese relations. An important step has been made. It opens an opportunity for the intensification of a political dialogue, for its upgrading and for the spread of bilateral cooperation.

Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to the Philippines was the first visit of a Soviet foreign minister to that country. It laid down the foundation of versatile and equal cooperation in the area of bilateral relations and in the international arena, Igor Rogachev said.

He expressed confidence that the results of the Soviet minister's talks in Pyongyang will have a positive effect on the further development of Soviet-Korean relations in all their multiformity.

Chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Gennadiy Gerasimov then took the floor. He informed the journalists of a conference of consular officials of the USSR Foreign Ministry which was held in Moscow on December 27-28, and noted that Eduard Shevardnadze, addressing the conference today, had set specific tasks of perestroyka of the Soviet consular service toward its democratisation and humanisation.

Asked about the Soviet Union's stand regarding the U.S. threats to Libya, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman emphasized that there should be no room for such threats in interstate relations. As to U.S. suspicions that a plant in Libya is capable of manufacturing or is already manufacturing chemical weapons, these suspicions can easily be dispelled by the invitation of specialists and journalists there.

Answering questions from newsmen, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the United Nations had been the main milestone of the outgoing year 1988. Among other events he singled out the visit to the Soviet Union by the foreign minister of the PRC which meant a breakthrough in Soviet-Chinese relations, and Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Tokyo.

Gennadiy Gerasimov said that if it were not for the tragedy that struck Armenia on December 7, the year would have ended on a very good note. However, the quake in Armenia evoked a strong surge of international solidarity.

Summarizes 1988 Events

LD2812162088 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—The main milestone of the outgoing year was undoubtedly Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the U.N. where he set out a concept of new political thinking and specific moves toward unilateral cuts in Soviet Armed Forces and armaments, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here today.

Among other main events of 1988 he singled out a Soviet visit by the Chinese foreign minister after a long interval, which meant a breakthrough to better Soviet-Chinese relations, as well as a visit to Tokyo by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, which pushed off the ground Soviet-Japanese relations.

The outgoing year, said Gennadiy Gerasimov, was very fruitful, though it did not justify all hopes. The Soviet side, as well as the American one, expected that an agreement on a 50-per-cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons would be concluded. However, the hopes did not materialize, since it turned out more difficult to reach full agreement than it had been expected. The work on the document is going on, and there are hopes that it will be signed next year.

According to the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, greater progress could have been reached in the sphere of banning chemical weapons and at the talks on complete and universal discontinuation of nuclear tests.

At the same time, he went on to say, the year 1988 witnessed, for the first time in history, the start of destruction of nuclear weapons after the INF Treaty had been concluded last December. The Soviet-American dialogue was continued. Ronald Reagan visited Moscow and, standing on the Red Square, repudiated his characteristic of the Soviet Union as an "Empire of Evil". The sides confirmed continuity of the policy during Gorbachev's meeting with the U.S. President and president-elect in New York.

On the whole, said the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, 1988 could have ended on a high note if not for the tragedy of December 7 in Armenia. At the same time this dreadful tragedy generated a powerful wave of international solidarity. All the world, including small nations, came to the Soviet people's assistance. "In our opinion," said Gennadiy Gerasimov, "the main reason for this lies in the fact that the image of the USSR in the eyes of the international public has change as a result of the new policy and perestroyka".

Rogachev Briefing on Shevardnadze Far East Tour
LD2812132988 Moscow TASS in English 1310 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's visits to Japan, the Philippines and North Korea illustrate Soviet diplomacy's many-sided, comprehensive approach to the affairs of the Asia-Pacific region, said Igor Rogachev, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, at a briefing here on Wednesday.

The visits were part of the Soviet Union's efforts to conduct a steady and regular dialogue on a high political level with the countries of the region, at establishing firm bilateral and multilateral relations, ensuring better mutual understanding and deeper confidence, mutually-beneficial cooperation and, therefore, stronger security for everyone.

The Tokyo, Manila and Pyongyang negotiations have shown that this course is widely supported, said the deputy foreign minister. "For us it is essential to exactly know how Soviet policy is assessed in the countries of the region. We are ready to listen attentively to opinions which differ from ours, to take into account our partners' stand and interests, and we believe that this is exactly the way to solve complex problems," said Rogachev.

Shevardnadze Interviewed by MOSCOW NEWS
LD2112160988 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—"Openness in inter-state relations is not only increasing steadily, but is becoming a kind of very effective instrument in international communication," it was stated by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party CC and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, interviewed by a correspondent of the MOSCOW NEWS weekly. His answers were published in the latest Russian language issue of the newspaper.

The speech delivered by the head of the Soviet state in the United Nations was a big event for world community as a whole, since it brought to its attention the Soviet Union's answers to many priority issues of our days. The developing world has learned from it about the Soviet Union's approaches to problems of development, settlement of the debts problem, elimination of hunger and poverty. Moscow has granted Europe and Asia a unique credit of confidence, hitherto unprecedented in international relations, in the form of its unilateral measures to reduce armed forces and armaments. The world as a whole was informed of our country's desire to strive for a universal transition from armament economy to disarmament economy, to switch this conversion over to practical rails. The regions where conflicts or balancing on the brink of conflicts have been and remain a tragic reality (although the situation is improving in this respect), have learnt of new possible ways to solve their problems, have received guidelines for breaking many deadlocks.

Our expressed readiness to follow up the INF Treaty by a unilateral reduction of armed forces and armaments marked a new breakthrough in the sphere of disarmament.

It is high time we admitted once and for all, or, to be more exact, for the time there is no other concrete evidence in hand, that reliance only or mostly on armed force does not strengthen in our days, but, on the contrary, tends to weaken national security.

The U.N. speech contained new bold proposals for settling the Afghan problem. Submitted for consideration were several international steps, including the proposal to cease fire as of January 1st of next year. Undelayed actions are needed. It is necessary for all parties to think over the concrete ceasefire terms, the process of forming U.N. forces and dispatching them to Afghanistan.

A task which brooks no delay in the light of the U.N. speech is to draw up a concrete plan to settle the "Third World's" foreign debts problem.

Special attention should be concentrated on the drafting of concrete proposals in keeping with the concept, expressed in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech, that world economy is a single organism, that civilisation is an indivisible entity and no nation can develop normally outside it.

Press Briefing Updates Armenian Casualty Figures
LD2912125188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1234 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 29 Dec (TASS)—The overall number of casualties from the earthquake in Armenia, taking into account those who died in hospitals and clinics, according to data for 28 December, was 24,854 people,

reported Yuriy Chaplygin, deputy chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Information Department, at a news conference here today. During the period of work to clear rubble 15,254 people were brought out from under the ruins and saved.

He noted that to date a total of about 107,500 people have been evacuated from the regions hit by the earthquake and of these more than 68,000 have been moved outside Armenia. The evacuation has now virtually been completed.

PRAVDA Editorial Views Gorbachev UN Speech

PM2912110688 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Peace for the Entire World: That Is the Aim of the USSR's Initiatives"]

[Text] We are nearing the end of 1988, a year that there is every reason to call a year of profound, fundamental changes in the world arena. The climate in international relations has grown noticeably warmer. It is marked increasingly by a trend toward resolving even the most complex questions by political means, on the basis of the balance of interests.

At the same time the current period can be described as crucial. There has been a substantial improvement in relations between West and East, and, particularly importantly, between the United States and the USSR, but the barriers of past distrust and suspicion between states have not yet disappeared completely. The forces of peace and reason are revealing themselves ever more energetically, but have not yet become a factor capable of completely curbing the ambitions of the nuclear militarists. Bold new decisions are constantly necessary in order to further normalize the international situation, decisions capable of mobilizing to act for peace everyone who cares about the world's present and future.

This makes it only natural that enormous interest was aroused in the world by the speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 43d UN General Assembly session.

At its 28 December session the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, after hearing M.S. Gorbachev's report on his visit to the United Nations and his meetings with the American leadership in New York, fully approved the political results of this trip and noted that it was one of the most important events in international life.

The peoples, social forces and movements, and the majority of statesmen support the peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet leader from the UN platform, because they see that they are looking at a realistic program of ideas and actions in which a logical, well thought out concept of the fundamentals of international intercourse as mankind approaches the 21st century is formulated. To make use of all available opportunities for preserving peace and to actively seek out new opportunities—this idea runs right through the USSR's initiatives. And it is characteristic that they were put forward from the UN platform. The Soviet Union thereby demonstrated that it seeks to step up the role of that major international organization, which was set up specifically for that purpose.

A bloody shroud of endless wars veils the horizons of human history. To embark at last on the path of normal, civilized relations between peoples—that is the imperative of the nuclear missile age. Further progress is possible now only through a quest for a consensus linking all mankind in the movement toward a new world order—that is our conviction.

The new political thinking offers an opportunity to break out of the "vicious circle" of issues that formerly appeared insoluble. A tangible possibility arises of taking mankind out of the spiral of the monstrous arms race and turning away from the principle of superarming toward the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense. The first practical step has already been taken: The Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has come into force and two classes of lethal missiles are being destroyed. We must continue.

In conditions where the NATO countries show no inclination to really tackle the proposals of the Warsaw Pact states on disarmament, a new impetus was needed in order to really place on the agenda the question of reducing conventional arms and armed forces in Europe. And this impetus comes once again from the Soviet Union.

The package of initiatives put forward by the Soviet head of state from the UN platform is a fusion of words and deeds.

This is not the first time the USSR has put forward proposals on ending the arms race, on disarmament. And although we have repeatedly confirmed our proposals with concrete actions, for instance by declaring a moratorium on nuclear weapon tests and proclaiming a defensive military doctrine, the NATO powers kept on saying: You talk about defense sufficiency, for instance, but how are you putting it into practice? Now those who spread distrust are deprived even of these "arguments."

Unilaterally and without any compensation, the Soviet Union is reducing a significant proportion of its Armed Forces. In 1989-1990 the numerical strength of our army will be reduced by half a million men. The number of tanks will be reduced by 10,000, and 8,500 artillery systems and 800 combat aircraft will be removed from the armory. By 1991 six tank divisions will be withdrawn from the Soviet troops temporarily stationed on the territory of the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary, and disbanded.

There will also be a substantial reduction in our Armed Forces grouping in the Asian part of the country. By agreement with the Mongolian Government, a significant proportion of the Soviet troops temporarily in Mongolia will return home.

As a result of the measures being implemented, tens of thousands of men will be brought into our country's national economy and defense expenditure will fall. The unity of the political and military-technical aspects of the defensive military doctrine of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states is demonstrated.

At the same time this means that still more favorable political conditions are created for discussing disarmament problems. The prospect is opened up of the practical resolution of questions that have been under discussion for years in Vienna and Geneva. Of course, this can only happen if the NATO countries show willingness to meet the USSR's constructive proposals halfway. It is now up to them.

The Soviet leader's speech covers a very wide range of questions of international politics. New concrete proposals were put forward aimed at ensuring a speedy settlement in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union calls for the implementation from the first day of the new year of a total cease-fire everywhere here, as well as an end to weapons deliveries to all the warring parties and the sending of a contingent of UN forces to Kabul and other strategic centers of the country for the period of formation of a broad-based government. The USSR advocates the speediest implementation of the idea of holding an international conference on the neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan.

In 1988 significant progress was also achieved in the peaceful resolution of a number of other regional conflicts. All steps in this direction will continue to receive active support and all-around assistance from the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has once again stressed its unchanging position: There can be no true socioeconomic progress without respect for the peoples' vital interests and their right to freedom of choice. Man and his concerns, rights, and freedoms should always be central. Political problems should be resolved only by political means, and human problems in a human way—that is our creed.

The idea of humanization of international relations is penetrating the dense fog of stereotypes and accretions of the past. Moving evidence of this is provided by the unprecedented aid to Armenia in its hour of need, not only from all the republics of our multinational motherland, but from the world community too.

As the year ends the peoples' hope for a peaceful, calmer life has become realistic. There is every reason to suppose that 1989 will strengthen that hope still further. Soviet people will spare no effort to ensure that things proceed in that direction.

Burlatskiy Views Prospects for Coming Year

PM2812145188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Dec 88 pp 1-2

[Political observer Fedor Burlatskiy article: "Year of Alarms, Year of Hopes"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The decisions of the 19th party conference and the USSR Supreme Soviet December session and M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly session have shown the very close connection between our country's domestic and foreign policies. Glasnost and restructuring are opening up new opportunities for cooperation with other countries in the cause of disarmament and progress. The warming of the international climate is becoming an increasingly important factor of our technological and democratic development. [passage omitted]

Given the favorable development of international cooperation, we could afford to take several tens of billions of dollars on credit as an investment for joint enterprises. This time foreign credits could be used, above all, to stimulate the agricultural sector and its infrastructure within the framework of the Food Program.

Of course, it would be an illusion to count on resolving the problem of restructuring entirely through international cooperation. What is needed are radical measures and profound economic reforms to make the transition from state socialism to a civil socialist society. Agrarian reform is now in the spotlight.

Is it not necessary to return to Lenin's Decree on Land and to look at it with new eyes undimmed by Stalinist dogmas of socialism? Is it not time to admit that kolkhozes have proved inefficient as a collective form of labor borrowed from industrial production? In certain types of production—poultry raising or cotton growing, for example—they have shown a high level of labor productivity. But can we go on ignoring the well-known fact that farmers, who make up 2.5 percent of the U.S. population, feed the whole country and sell a huge part of their produce abroad? And our private plots, which take up just 1 percent of the land, produce almost one-third of the agricultural produce. This experience will probably be taken into account in the law on leasing now being prepared, so that everyone is able to conclude a contract of his own choice—either with a kolkhoz or with the state in the person of the local authority—and is guaranteed both a market and purchases of equipment and fertilizers and, most importantly, an allocation of land.

The development of the market and of commodity-money relations and economic accountability will put political pluralism on a footing of economic pluralism and open up the doors to competitiveness and competition among state, cooperative, family, individual, and other forms of ownership.

At the same time our restructuring inside the country has encountered acute problems. The noble idea of the country's leadership to conduct this process not only from above, as was the case during Khrushchev's times, but also from below and to begin the business with glasnost and democratization has come up against resistance from the bureaucracy and the worst representatives of the crowd. They threaten to spark lightning in a hard clash and to stem the normal flow of restructuring.

Both phenomena reflect the traditions of an authoritarian-patriarchal political culture. And no wonder. Not only power but also society are casting off the fetters of Stalinism and stagnation with huge scars in their consciousness, souls, and habits. It was not for nothing that the ancients would say that a corrupt society is the most pernicious consequence of tyranny. We have encountered a paradox: Democratization of power is necessary for the democratization of society, but a democratic society is necessary for the democratization of power. We need able people who know how to live with an opponent. Certainly not people who—whether in defense of "left" or "right" positions—crave at least to crush an opponent, to drive him from the platform, and, at most, to have him rot in a concentration camp. Tolerance of others, loyalty, pluralism of opinions, and ordinary decency—this is what our frenzied polemicists lack. I constantly encounter this, particularly at the time of public hearings on human rights. And, most importantly, we all lack constructive ideas. We are all good at writing about the past but are so reluctant to analyze experience of the present and to discuss problems of the future.

The nationalities problem has become the focus of many struggles, although the chief problem—the social problem—is highlighted behind it. Why have we witnessed such an explosion of national feelings, the wave of which frequently rises higher than political and party positions? This is a very complex question. Different trends have become interwoven in a single knot here. In addition, it is obvious that different parts of the country have their own specific problems—in Armenia, Azerbaijan, or Georgia, in Estonia or Latvia, in the Ukraine or Russia. But there are also certain common causes.

First, it has to be admitted that we have not had a true Leninist federation. On paper things were smooth, while in actuality there were ravines. I will not speak of Stalin's unprecedented genocide—the removal of entire peoples from their historical lands. Look at the representation of the republics and of small nations in particular in the central ministries and departments and on all organs that wield real power. There has been a constant cadre erosion here. Second, there is the possible threat of assimilation—linguistic, cultural, and even geographic—for small peoples. This is not just a problem of our federation. It is a worldwide problem. The mighty force of integration under the impact of the technological revolution is giving rise to great resistance among the nations that crave to preserve their age-old cultural values and traditions. The third cause: encroachment upon the achievements of national cultures. The destruction of temples, the neglect of ancient cities, disregard for the spiritual heritage of ancestors. This has affected almost all our peoples.

But these causes go beyond social ones. Under conditions of economic scarcity it has begun to seem to representatives of many nations that they are being "nibbled at" by other nations. Such sentiments have appeared in the Baltic republics and also, to no less a degree, among the peoples of Russia, who have the lowest living standards compared with the population of other parts of the country. In fact, all have been "nibbled" by the state with its huge expenditure, including irrational expenditure, both in capital construction and in military production.

The administrative system was imposed on everyone equally and did not allow every person and every people to be the master of the products of labor being produced. Marx saw as socialism's chief feature the fact that the conferment of surplus value would be eliminated. By whomever—whether private persons or the state. Of course, everyone realizes that society has common needs—economic, cultural, defense. But taxes levied must be: a) moderate; b) open [glasnyy]; c) direct, not indirect; d) controlled by all peoples through their political representatives.

A dramatic paradox of restructuring is the fact that all these problems flared up like dry brushwood precisely when the country's leadership began vigorously posing and resolving questions of genuine democracy, questions of a genuine federation, and questions of genuine socialism. The dead would always seize the living by the throat. The flow of a river becomes particularly fast when it falls from a mountain into a quiet valley. All that is necessary is for all those sailing on the common Soviet ship to be imbued with high awareness of the historic moment. Then we will be able to make the living current more even in the interests of all the peoples and of every person.

How are we to resolve these problems, which affect almost all the 100 nations and ethnic groups in our country? The general principle is more or less clear: It is necessary to satisfy the legitimate interests of all the nations, grant each of them genuine independence and economic and cultural autonomy, and, at the same time, recreate a genuine federation and mutually advantageous integration and strengthen our union. But what precisely is to be done must be decided only calmly, jointly, and gradually, on the basis of the whole federa-

tion's representation, without imposing the will of the majority on the minority and, moreover, without interethnic conflicts.

A counselor at the Belgian Embassy in Moscow told me: We too have a nationalities problem, and at first we wanted to resolve it quickly, but then we realized that we would have to learn to live with this problem and gradually improve things on the basis of mutual compromises. We too will have to seek compromises for the sake of justice and the common good and only democratically. At soviet congresses, at USSR Supreme Soviet sessions, at congresses of interested peoples, involving representatives from the center, by means of referenda and other democratic procedures. Tolerance and the ability to understand the other side's interests are a true sign of an antiauthoritarian political culture. I believe that the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations, which is being prepared, and also the laws on the federation's development will be landmarks in our society's renewal.

The rights, freedoms, and duties of citizens in the rule-of-law socialist state which is taking shape constitute an independent block of problems. Underpinned by socialist traditions, we must attain the level of the international pledges we have adopted in resolving questions of freedom of movement, freedom of conscience, judicial protection of human rights, the activities of informal organizations... The transition we have begun from state socialism to a civil socialist society presupposes the increasingly full emancipation of initiative and independence in the economic, social, cultural, and other spheres of life.

So the new year, 1989, is to be a year of resolving important social and national problems. And, together with the changes already outlined in relations with the outside world, it is the year when restructuring enters the stage of practical results in the interests of all the country's peoples and of every person.

United States & Canada

Bush Appoints Gates for Security Position

LD2812234888 Moscow TASS in English 2341 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 29 TASS—President-elect George Bush designated CIA veteran Robert Gates as deputy assistant for national security affairs on Wednesday.

Gates, 45, now deputy CIA director, is a leading expert on the Soviet Union and arms control. His entire professional career is linked with the Central Intelligence Agency which he joined in 1966 after graduating from a higher educational establishment.

Since 1974 till 1979 he worked on the National Security Council.

After CIA Director William Casey died, President Ronald Reagan nominated Gates to that post early in 1987. However, the President soon had to choose another man to the post since Gates's role in the Iran-Contra affair evoked many questions even among Republican senators.

At congressional hearings, Gates denied that he personally or the CIA tried to deliberately conceal facts about the CIA's involvement in the clandestine operation which triggered off the biggest political scandal in the United States over the last decade.

China

Commentary Views Shevardnadze Visit to Japan

OW2912081188 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 24 Dec 88

[Filippov commentary]

[Text] Everyone knows that Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze paid an official visit to Japan. During the negotiations between him and his Japanese counterpart, the two countries decided to begin preparations for a Soviet-Japanese summit meeting. The Soviet foreign minister said that the two countries are aware of the challenge of the times [word indistinct] and pledged to take concerted steps to seek the essential solutions. Station commentator Filippov writes in this connection:

In January 1989, Soviet and Japanese foreign ministers will meet in Paris to begin preparations for a Soviet-Japanese summit meeting. I think that this fact alone is proof that Shevardnadze's visit to Japan was an important milestone, which marks the end of the previous stage of Soviet-Japanese relations.

The change in the international climate has had an obvious impact on Soviet-Japanese relations. The [word indistinct] dialogues that have appeared in various parts of the world in recent years [words indistinct] aspirations for mutual understanding in international relations [words indistinct]. People in many countries have gradually come to understand that their surroundings are interrelated and interdependent. The Soviet-Japanese talks prove this point: The two neighboring countries are aware that their relations are incompatible with today's level of development, their potentials, and (?their respective) international policies. Both the Soviet Union and Japan have pledged that they will work hard to develop a mutually beneficial foundation, including political dialogues, and trade and economic cooperation.

There are indeed some problems, including some which are complex, in Soviet-Japanese bilateral relations. Undoubtedly, both sides have indicated that discussing these problems is essential for settling them. Specifically because of this, there should be the discussion to establish a permanent bilateral working group to discuss all issues relevant to the conclusion of a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty.

The Soviet Union proposes that, while considering all facts, the two countries objectively discuss how to resolve problems and differences through [word indistinct] and good will. We think that this is [word indistinct] feasible way to understand all relevant issues. Japan supports this view.

Naturally, countries in the Asia-Pacific region cannot help noticing the development of the situation in that region, especially when China and Japan were having their political talks. Elaborating on the Soviet Union's fundamental policy toward the Asia-Pacific region in his speech in Vladivostok 2 years ago and that in Krasnoyarsk recently, Gorbachev called on all countries of the Asia-Pacific region to cooperate with each other for the sake of peace and security in the region. Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita stated that Japan is ready to cooperate with the Soviet Union on these issues. Of course, Tokyo's favorable response can broaden the scope of the two countries' cooperation.

Generally speaking, Shervardnadze's visit to Japan has opened a new future for Soviet-Japanese relations, showing how Soviet-Japanese relations will develop in the coming new year. But it is already very obvious that the Soviet Union and Japan both hope that their bilateral relations will be upgraded to a [word indistinct] new level.

TASS Cites PRC's Qian Qichen on Relations

LD2812233188 Moscow TASS in English 2307 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Beijing December 29 TASS—In recent years China has invariably advocated the removal of obstacles and a normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations, Qian Qichen, foreign minister of China, said in an interview with the XINHUA News Agency.

The joint efforts, Qian Qichen said, have resulted in the inception of a trend toward removal of obstacles and solving problems. This process will be continued further.

Referring to the results of his recent visit to the USSR, the Chinese foreign minister said that the purpose of his visit to the Soviet Union was to conduct an in depth discussion with the Soviet side on the Kampuchean problem and to secure headway in the process of normalizing bilateral relations with a view to preparing the Soviet-Chinese summit. The visit yielded results, Qian Qichen said. It demonstrated that the process of normalizing the Soviet-Chinese relations has entered a new stage. The Chinese minister noted at the same time certain differences that still exist between the two countries. That is why, in his words, a large amount of work has to be done in order to hold a Soviet-Chinese summit.

New International Radio Broadcasts in Russian

OW2912024588 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] A world-wide Russian-language broadcasting station of this radio will begin broadcasting on 1 January 1989. Chinese listeners may receive programs of the station at 0200-0300, 1000-1300, 1800-2000 and 2200-2300 Beijing time [1800-1900, 0200-0500, 1000-1200 and 1400-1500 GMT].

The worldwide Russian-language broadcasting station will carry reports on important domestic and international events; well-known scholars, social activists, economists, and writers; changes taking place in the Soviet Union; and talks by children and youths about what is on their mind. Listeners who love literature, music, and sports can learn of many new things in these fields from this station.

The editorial department of the station hopes that people who are concerned about the situation in the Soviet Union will write to the station to express their opinions about what programs they would like to hear and who they would like to meet over the radio.

USSR-PRC Rail Agreement Signed in Moscow

LD2812204788 Moscow TASS in English 2008 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—A railway whose construction is to be completed in 1991, will be the shortest way between China and the European part of the Soviet Union. The USSR and China will cooperate in building the last stretch of the trunk line between Usu and Alashankou some 210 kilometres long. An agreement signed here today provides for a Soviet state credit to finance this work. On the Soviet side, the document was signed by Aleksandr Kachanov, first deputy minister for foreign economic relations, and on the Chinese—Yu Hongliang, Chinese ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR.

Under the agreement, the credit extended to China will pay for Soviet deliveries of rails, timber, diesel fuel, motor vehicles, excavators, and other machines, as well as of consumer goods. To service the credit, China will supply the USSR with foodstuffs, cotton and goods of the light and textile industries.

Organization of convenient railway transport is of great economic importance for the two countries, since in the past few years mutual deliveries of cargoes increased by far. TASS learnt at the ministry that in the five years their volumes jumped up five times and by 1991 they will grow again by over 1.5 times.

The new linkage between Chinese and Soviet railways will be made via a stretch between the Druzhba (USSR) and Alashankou (China) stations. Its opperation will help cut 30-50 per cent transport expenses for freight traffic between the two countries. Shipments are now hauled primarily through the eastern part of the Soviet railway system and through the north-eastern part of Chinese railways. Besides, construction of this single railway via the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan, will help use a new direction for shipping a part of transit freight between China and Western Europe and the Middle East and to organise passenger traffic along this line.

In the opinion of Soviet and Chinese experts, when the railway whose total length in China is 3,800 kilometres from east to west, is fully put into operation, it will also have a favourable effect on the economic development of Chinese adjacent areas with a population of some 250 million.

Bilateral Trade With Chinese Increases

OW2612071088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Nearly 160 contracts and agreements for economic and technological cooperation between Heilongjiang Province of the PRC and Far Eastern regions and oblasts of the USSR were signed this year. As of the end of November this year, the amount of bilateral trade reached 146 million Swiss francs, an increase of almost 400 percent over the same period of last year.

Trade Increases With PRC's Jilin Province

OW2612021388 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Trade between China's Jilin Province and the neighboring Soviet border areas, which began only last year, has reached 39 million Swiss francs in volume. The Soviet side supplies Jilin mainly with steel products, timber, cement, and chemical fertilizers, while Jilin ships to the Soviet side such products as fruits, garments, and stationery.

Border trade is also rapidly developing between the Soviet eastern region and China's Heilongjiang Province, Nei Monggol Autonomous Region, and Xinjiang

Uygur Autonomous Region. Total border trade volume between the Soviet Union and China is expected to reach 700 million Swiss francs this year, three times more than the 1987 figure.

Kazakhstan, Xinjiang Develop Border Trade
OW2612013488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Petrovskiy commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, both the Soviets and Chinese attach great importance to the development of border trade and economic ties, including joint business ventures, between the two countries. Since early this year, many regions and departments on the two sides of the border have become trade partners. On the Soviet side, they are union republics, krays, and oblasts. On the Chinese side, they are provinces and autonomous regions. For example, the Soviet Kazakh Republic and China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region are trade partners. Our station commentator Petrovskiy has the following comment:

Trade between Kazakhstan and the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region has existed for a long time, and their trade volume is increasing. The Soviet side supplies automobiles, steel products, refrigerators, construction equipment, electrical cleaners, building materials, fertilizers, and other products to the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and receives from it farm produce, knitwear, textile, fur, cloth, and sports shoes. The exchange of commodities has greatly increased the varieties of products on sale in stores on both sides of the border. Most of the commodities go through the Soviet border city of Khorgos. To improve shipping, the Soviet and Chinese sides jointly built a bridge over the Khorgos river last October. A direct railway line will open between Kazakhstan and the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in the second half of 1992. The expansion of the transport capacity is aimed not only at meeting the needs of increased trade between Kazakhstan and Xinjiang, but also at meeting the needs of the development of bilateral economic cooperation between the two sides. A protocol was signed last April for the establishment of joint ventures. Under the agreement, a joint venture will be established in Kazakhstan to manufacture paint while a mineral fertilizer plant will be established in Xinjiang. Other joint ventures for smelting nonferrous metal and for geological prospecting were also planned.

Business links are being established between department stores in Alma-Ata, Urumqi, (Tarch Kurgan), and Kuqa, and between other commercial enterprises of Kazakhstan and Xinjiang. The growth of economic ties between Kazakhstan and the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and the development of profitable economic cooperation between other border regions of the two countries are indications of a healthy tendency of our times. This tendency is created by the peoples of our two countries who seek to live in good-neighborliness.

Northeast Asia

Takeshita Expects Gorbachev Visit 'Next Year'
LD2612114088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 26 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Takeshita of Japan declared today that he is expecting the arrival of the Soviet leader in Japan next year. The head of government expressed hope that the visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will help lay the foundation for concluding a peace treaty and settling the territorial dispute. [passage omitted]

Uno's Hopes for Summit
LD2812174588 Moscow TASS in English 1708 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo December 28 TASS—Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno of Japan today expressed the hope that his talks next year with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will help to "pave the way" for a Soviet-Japanese summit. The fact that Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan has been placed on political agenda, Sosuke Uno said in an interview with the KYODO TSUSHIN News Agency, is a consequence of the efforts made by both sides.

Among the major objectives of Japanese diplomacy for the coming period Uno mentioned the continuation of the bilateral dialogue at a meeting with Eduard Shevardnadze, to be held next year in Paris where an international conference will be in session to discuss a ban on chemical weapons, and his own visit to the Soviet Union. I believe, the foreign minister said, that this visit must be made before the elections to the chamber of counsellors of the Japanese parliament, scheduled for July next.

Japan's Prime Minister Noboru Takashita, speaking today at the first press conference in the wake of the government reshuffle on Tuesday, explained the fact of Sosuke Uno's having kept his job by, among other things, the need to continue the talks with the Soviet foreign minister.

Hiroshi Mitsuzuka, appointed minister for foreign trade and industry, told the KYODO TSUSHIN News Agency today that Japan ought to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union as a neighbouring country. He added, however, that Japan must abide by the restrictions established by the Cocom.

Shevardnadze Tokyo News Conference Reported
OW2812114988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Listeners, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze held a news conference in Tokyo on 21 December prior to his departure from Japan. One of the topics discussed at the news conference was the result of his talks in Tokyo in the past several days.

Shevardnadze pointed out: The significance of the talks lies primarily in the fact that they have provided an affirmative answer to one very important and fundamental question: both the Japanese and Soviet sides understand that their relationship should not be left out of the main stream of historical development and lag behind the front-running tendencies of world politics. Both sides see the challenge of the times. They will not retreat from it and are ready to seek the necessary solutions by joint efforts. What is stressed here is that it is not a matter of anyone making concessions; it is a matter of doing more than the other. We are jointly working out mutually acceptable approaches which take into account the principled positions of the sides.

Shevardnadze pointed out: The agreement reached between the two foreign ministers to begin to energetically study questions related to a Soviet-Japanese summit meeting was an important result of the talks. At the same time, a mechanism is being set up to examine, on a permanent basis, the question of a peace treaty between our countries within the framework of which the entire set of problems of concern to both sides will be examined.

The Soviet foreign minister said: In general, we have reached an understanding that the Soviet-Japanese dialogue will encompass the sphere of bilateral relations, cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, and the tackling of global problems.

Describing the talks as friendly in tone and rich in substance, Shevardnadze said his visit was one of the most productive visits of the past several years. He said: A degree of mutual understanding has been reached that enables us, in my opinion, to speak of the beginning of a new chapter in Soviet-Japanese relations.

Among the questions raised by reporters were: When will a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting be held and what documents may be adopted during the summit? Does the Soviet Union intend to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea? What is the attitude in the DPRK toward the establishment of contacts between the Soviet Union and South Korea?

Shevardnadze said: The date for a Soviet-Chinese summit has not yet been fixed. Agreement in principle has been reached that it will take place in the first half of next year. As you know, a return visit by the Soviet foreign minister to China is to be made, very likely at the end of January or the beginning of February. During the visit, we will have discussions with the Chinese leadership to determine a specific date for the summit meeting. As far as final documents are concerned, light will be shed on these during the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Beijing.

With regard to Korea, Shevardnadze said: I can say that we have decided to establish trade and economic ties with South Korea on a nongovernmental level. This does not mean establishment of either diplomatic or state-to-state relations in any form whatsoever. Our friends in the DPRK, who are also our allies, have been informed of this decision.

Shevardnadze said: I am confident that my forthcoming visit to the DPRK will take place in the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding, which is traditional for our two countries.

Commentary Views Recent Talks With Japanese

OW2712001188 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 24 Dec 88

[Olgin commentary]

[Text] In connection with the results of the Foreign Minister's official visit to Japan, Radio Moscow commentator Olgin writes as follows:

There probably has been no instance in the long years in Japan-USSR relations when a meeting was held in a more frank manner and with more substance as the recent foreign ministers' conference.

In the talks held this time, both sides mutually affirmed the need for Japan-USSR relations not to be left out of the current trend of world politics. This was the highest point in the Japanese-Soviet foreign ministers' talks in Tokyo. The talks also reaffirmed the willingness to search and find areas of interest common to both sides and thus to expand the cooperation between the peoples of the two nations toward world peace.

In appraising the results of the latest talks, I can declare that it is no exaggeration to say that important actions for broadening the perspective for development of Soviet-Japanese relations in extensive areas has been made during the talks in Tokyo.

What actions specifically have been taken? Here I will cite only those which are most important. The first is an agreement to begin discussions relating to preparations for a Soviet-Japanese summit. There is no question that this agreement is very important for future development of bilateral relations between the two countries.

Next, it will be an epoch-making event in the history of Soviet-Japanese relations if the visit to Japan of the top Soviet leader, General Secretary Gorbachev, is realized.

Another accomplishment is an agreement on establishment of a permanent organization to be entrusted with the study of problems related to conclusion of a peace treaty. The organization is expected to function at various levels from working-level experts up to foreign ministers. Undoubtedly, a peace treaty is an aggregate of multiple and very complicated issues in areas of politics, economy, geography, and so forth. Therefore, both sides will do work which is very difficult but essential.

One of the important accomplishments of the Soviet-Japanese foreign ministers' talks is the fact that both sides expressed their desire to promote and expand exchanges in areas of trade, economy, science and technology, and culture.

While Foreign Minister Shevardnadze was visiting Japan, a plan for the first governmental level cultural exchange period from 1 April 1989 to 31 March 1991 was adopted. If the plan is implemented smoothly, it will do much to fulfill the cultural needs of the two nations.

The Soviet side, in response to the Japanese side's request and from a humanitarian viewpoint, expressed willingness to review in a forward looking manner the issue of opening additional cemeteries sites in the Soviet territories to Japanese wishing to pay respects to their deceased relatives.

Generally speaking, it can be said that the Soviet foreign minister's visit this time was the most fruitful one in the past several years. To quote Foreign Minister Shevardnadze himself: One of the major achievments was the new mutual understanding—with the significance of the start of a new era—gained in Soviet-Japanese relations. This makes us entertain hopes that the purpose of establishing neighborly relations befitting the potential of the two countries and the expectations of their people may be achieved.

IZVESTIYA Cited on Shevardnadze's Talks

OW2912051988 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 23 Dec 88

["Summary" of IZVESTIYA commentary by Tokyo correspondent Agafonov]

[Text] Foreign Minister Shevardnadze has wound up his visit to Japan. The Moscow newspaper IZVESTIYA carries a commentator's article by Tokyo correspondent Agafonov on the latest round of regular Soviet-Japanese foreign ministerial consultations. A summary of the article follows:

Both sides made thorough preparations for Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Japan. Although busy in various ways with its relations with the United States and Europe, the Soviet side found it impossible to disregard the fact that the level of contact or mutual understanding with Japan is very low as compared with the overall trend of Soviet diplomacy.

How was this shown? First of all, it was shown in the form of not only a stalemate in bilateral relations, but also the idling, to a certain degree, of an initiative bearing upon the entire Asian and Pacific region.

What about Japan? At a time when the Western nations are pushing the expansion of relations with the Soviet Union, Japan has fallen behind and follows its Western allies, putting itself in a situation in which it might end up being isolated in global East-West relations. So it is by all means necessary for both the Soviet Union and Japan to redress this imbalance.

The newspaper IZVESTIYA's Tokyo correspondent Agafonov continues: Looking at the documents, it is felt that the results of the Tokyo talks as reflected in its documents cannot be called revolutionary. Even though it is inlaid with constructive, historical words and phrases, the joint communique has more than a few vague expressions. At present, no substantial move has been noted in economic relations between the two countries, either. Scientific and technological cooperation is limited to as narrow a scope as ever.

However, the two delegations' agreed assessment of the latest talks is immovable despite these circumstances. In this regard, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze pointed out that moves to activate the dialogue did after all begin, as interested parties to the talks showed a desire for this. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze told a press conference that this time the talks were conducted in a very friendly mood and were extremely substantial. According to Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, his latest visit to Japan was one of the most fruitful visits he has made in recent years.

If there were not many visible results, what on earth do the foreign minister's remarks mean? Judging from all angles, the answer appears to lie in the two sides' grappling with the territorial issue, the biggest obstacle to the improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations.

It may be safe to say that in Japan the territorial issue is a matter of principle and all debates on Soviet-Japanese relations begin and end with this question. On the other hand, the Soviet Union expounds principled views on the territorial issue with sufficient historical grounds and important legal bases. Therefore, it would benefit the honor of both Japan and the Soviet Union to significantly revise their conventional viewpoints. The procession of events shown thus far makes it clear that tackling this issue by presenting ultimatums is unproductive.

Looked at from this viewpoint, it may be safe to say that the latest round of Soviet-Japanese talks was certainly one of very important talks. Although neither side changed its principled policy, both sides tried to talk calmly while holding fast to their respective views, from beginning to end refraining from sticking to unilateral demands on the points at issue.

What was the result? It was found to be possible to grope for a point of compromise by listening attentively to what the other side has to say, thus helping resolve the issue without damaging the other side's honor. It was also made clear that, if one goes beyond the prejudice that nothing can be done about the territorial issue, there are unexploited possibilities that can in both countries'

interests. It is the constructive power of the steps toward this substantial dialogue that puts the latest round of talks ahead of all the talks held thus far.

There is a force in Japan that asserts that any toning down or slackening of the reigns with regard to the territorial issue amounts to a betrayal of national interests. There are more than a few people in the Soviet Union, too, who voice absolute opposition.

However, my impression is that a consensus was realized during the latest visit to the effect that precedence should be given to flexible measures. The accord on preparing for Soviet-Japanese summit talks will probably make this consensus take root.

Soviet Komsomol Head Interviewed in Pyongyang

SK1512120088 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Interview with (Viktor Voycheskiy), standing representative of the resident mission of the Soviet Komsomol Central Committee in Pyongyang, by station reporter]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] What is the purpose of establishing a resident mission of the Soviet Komsomol Central Committee in Pyongyang?

[(Voycheskiy)] This has a bearing on the more active relations between the Soviet Komsomol Central Committee and the LSWYK [League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea] Central Committee. A result of this is the successful holding of the youth festivals of the Soviet Union and the DPRK in Ulyanovsk and Wonsan.

These festivals were a clear manifestation of friendship, cooperation, and mutual understanding between the youths of the two countries, making it possible to mention the establishment of the resident mission of the Lenin Komsomol in the DPRK and the resident mission of the LSWYK in Moscow.

Second, this decision is connected to the work of preparing for the forthcoming 13th World Festival of Youth and Students. This resident mission will continue operation not only before and during the festival but also after the festival.

Short-term and long-term cooperative plans between the two youth leagues have already been signed. The plans envisage the exchange of delegations, the holding of friendship festivals, and working-level contacts. The scale of relations between the two countries has been continuously increasing, and we think that the establishment of the resident missions will contribute to further expanding the relations and to practically embodying the plans finalized by the two youth leagues. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] How well do you think the DPRK has prepared for hosting a large-scale event like the 13th festival? Because no festival has ever been held in an Asian country, the Korean friends need spritual and material assistance. What kind of contribution are the national preparatory committees of other countries, especially the Lenin Komsomols, making to this joint work?

[(Voycheskiy)] I think that the 13th festival will make further progress embodying all that was provided by the Moscow Festival. When I was in college, I participated in the Berlin Festival in 1973. I also participated in the Havana Festival in 1978 and the Moscow Festival.

Here in Pyongyang, we see above all the industrious Korean people providing (?good) conditions for the participants and guests in the forthcoming youth festival. In fact, they have already built a whole little city, where the youths will find everything they need for associating with each other day and night. This is the very thing we need. There is all the technical potential for free discussion. Simultaneous translation facilities will be available for all the major languages of the world.

As for the cultural events of the forthcoming festival, I am convinced that the opening and closing ceremonies will be the most colorful and interesting scenes I have ever seen.

Therefore, the Korean youths, as well as all the Korean working people, are participating in the preparations for this event with great responsibility. Of course, all this has to be reflected in the material aspect of the work. The forthcoming festival will be the most costly festival ever. The Lenin Komsomol, which has hosted two of the world festivals, is well aware of this. We are doing our best to provide the fraternal youth league with material and spiritual assistance, and assistance in the political fields if possible.

The Lenin Komsomol has borne all the transportation expenses for the delegates and guests of the festival passing through Moscow. The Komsomol also held a (?bazaar) to raise funds for the national festival, and the funds raised there will be used to pay various expenses.

The youth leagues of other socialist countries have also adopted the decision for material assistance for the festival. We believe that the international festival solidarity fund will receive funds from all national preparatory committees. With joint efforts, we will do our best so that our Korean friends may not bear all the expenses necessary for preparing and hosting the festival.

South Korea Agrees to Talks With DPRK

LD2812170088 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo December 28 TASS—South Korea gave today an official agreement to People's Korea on holding talks on political and military aspects of bilateral relations at the government level. A statement sent by South

Korean Prime Minister Kang Yong-hun to Yon Hyong-muk, premier of the Administrative Council of the DPRK, expresses readiness to organize between them a meeting to discuss problems concerning relaxation of tension on the Korean peninsula.

The proposal on summit talks between the North and the South to be based on the question of a withdrawal of U.S. troops from the peninsula, was first put forth by President Kim Il-song of People's Korea in December 1986.

MPRP Hits Choybalsan Cult, Views Tasks

PM2912105588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Resolution Published"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 24 Dec—The implementation of restructuring to encompass the economy, the political structure, and society's social and spiritual life is the main task of Mongolian Communists. This is said in a resolution adopted by the Fifth MPRP Central Committee Plenum, held here 21-22 December.

The dominance of administrative edict methods led to a swollen bureaucratic apparatus and the curtailment of democracy in the Mongolian People's Republic; insufficient attention was given to society's economic, social, and political development. Therefore, the document notes, the successful solution of the country's pressing problems today depends largely on the enhancement of the MPRP's leading role and the radical renewal of its entire activity.

It was decided to introduce serious changes in ideological work. The resolution points out in particular the need to eliminate the consequences of the Kh. Choybalsan personality cult and to fully rehabilitate the innocent victims of the repression years.

The plenum mapped out specific tasks for the country's economic and political reform. The MPRP Central Committee Politburo was instructed to take measures to draw up a new edition of the party program and the Mongolian People's Republic Constitution, and also to set up a special commission to rehabilitate the victims of the repressions.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Commentary on SRV 'Occupation' of Cambodia

OW2912120788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 25 Dec 88

[Durov commentary, from "The World Today" program]

[Text] Phnom Penh has put on a refreshed look recently. According to an eyewitness account, people have voluntarily swept the streets, tidied up sidewalks and flower terraces, and painted houses. The Cambodian capital is ready to greet the 10th anniversary of liberation from the sanguinary rule of the Pol Pot clique and establishment of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. On this, our station observer Durov has the following to say:

While the residents of Phnom Penh are preparing to celebrate the festival and engaging in truly peaceful labor, the enemy of People's Kampuchea has stirred up another wave of anti-Cambodian propaganda, depicting the republic, which is about to greet its 10th anniversary, as a dark military camp hostile to other nations. The enemy of the Cambodian people is particularly keen on spreading the rumor about the alleged Vietnamese occupation. I would like to especially discuss this issue today.

The Vietnamese troops have in fact been in Cambodia for 10 years. In late December 1978, they crossed the border to Cambodia to help its people in their uprising to topple the Pol Pot clique's bloodstained rule. The Vietnamese troops' mission brought an end to the Pol Pol regime on 7 January, and enabled the Cambodian people to have a bright future once again. The role played by Vietnam is indisputable: that is, to help the young and not yet stable republic safeguard its boundary. All these are facts. Can this be called a Vietnamese occupation? Let's examine this question together.

In February 1979, Cambodia and Vietnam signed a treaty of peace, friendship, and cooperation. This document, I believe, has two important aspects: First, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea asks the Vietnamese troops to continue their presence in Cambodia. Second, both sides agree that the presence of Vietnamese troops in Cambodia is temporary in nature and that they will be withdrawn immediately once the threat to the security of the young republic disappears. In my opinion, if the Vietnamese troops' presence was really an occupation, the occupiers should have tried to stay on for an indefinite period of time.

In 1982, as life in Cambodia gradually returned to normalcy, Vietnam began to withdraw troops in groups. So far six groups have indeed been withdrawn, including the last group withdrawn from June to December this year. The number of Vietnamese troops in Cambodia has been cut to half, with nearly 50,000 pulled out already. Phnom Penh and Hanoi have reaffirmed that the remaining Vietnamese troops will be all pulled out before early 1990.

These are all facts. However, people hostile to Cambodia have totally ignored the facts and continued to allege that the presence of Vietnamese troops is tantamount to occupation. What are they after? I believe they want to undermine the advent of the prospects for a peaceful settlement in Cambodia. The fruitful dialogue between various opposition Khmer factions has entered its second year. At the quadripartite meeting held in Bogor, Indonesia last summer, all parties were totally aware that any attempt to settle the conflict through military means

is unacceptable and, most of all, hopeless. Those in control of the upper echelon of the Khmer Rouge call for continuing the war. The aim of their call is apparent because any form of political settlement of the conflict will deprive them of the hope for restoration in Phnom Penh. Procrastination of the conflict will delight people unwilling to see stabilization of the situation in Southeast Asia. Precisely with this thought in mind, they have stepped up their anti-Cambodian, anti-Vietnamese propaganda.

Near East & South Asia

Libya Denies U.S. Charge on Chemical Weapons

PM2912102588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS reports under the general heading: "Libya Denies Charges"]

[Text] Washington, 23 Dec—The United States does not rule out the possibility of using military force against Libya. This is attested by a statement at a briefing held here today by White House spokesman M. Fitzwater, according to whom the U.S. President has declared that "the use of military force remains an option which should be studied."

Washington is trying to substantiate the new threats against the Libyan Jamahiriyah by means of suppositions that chemical weapons are being produced at a plant in that country.

Paris, 23 Dec—M. al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, has described as absolutely groundless the U.S. accusations against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah [SPLAJ]. In an interview on the TF-1 French television channel he reaffirmed that the plant mentioned by the Americans produces nothing but medical supplies.

It is the Libyan leader's view that this stance of Washington's is a further manifestation of the policy of state terrorism being pursued by the United States. If the United States carries out another attack on a Libyan civilian target, that will be aggression against Libya, M. al-Qadhdhafi emphasized.

Reporting the new U.S. threats against the SPLAJ, the newspaper LIBERATION cites statements by representatives of European and Japanese firms involved in constructing the plant, who have rejected the possibility of its being used to produce combat toxins.

Tripoli, 23 Dec—The Libyan Jamahiriyah categorically rejects Washington's groundless fabrications alleging that chemical weapons are being produced on the country's territory, a statement disseminated here by the SPLAJ People's Foreign Liaison Bureau reads.

WALL STREET JOURNAL Interviews Najibullah

PM2912111888 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Najibullah Interview"]

[Text] Kabul, 24 Dec—The BAKHTAR Agency has published the text of a WALL STREET JOURNAL correspondent's interview with President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The Afghan leadership's paramount task, the president said, is to establish peace and security in the country and to help end the war and ensure and strengthen peace. Over the 2 years since the policy of national reconciliation was announced, enemies have erected many obstacles in the way of its implementation. At the same time the policy of national reconciliation has found its way to the hearts of Afghans and become a reality of our society. During this time, a unilateral cease-fire has been declared; elections have been held to local organs of power; the Grand Assembly of people's representatives has met; the Constitution has been approved; the president has been elected; the PDPA has renounced its monopoly on power; a pluralist political system has been created; a coalition government has been formed and will be the basis of a yet broader coalition; the National Council has been elected and has begun its work; political parties have begun functioning; and the Geneva agreements, which are to resolve the Afghan problem through dialogue and talks, have been signed.

Despite great obstacles, more than 180,000 Afghan refugees have returned to the motherland.

In resolving the question of a political settlement Afghanistan confirms that talks are the very best way to end the war and establish peace. I am sure, Najibullah declared, that victory cannot be achieved by military means. Therefore we always proceed from mutual understanding in our initiatives. In our view, when general agreement is reached in talks, questions concerning the establishment of security will not arise.

Our peace initiatives contain plans for the establishment of lasting peace in Afghanistan. We have proposed holding an international conference under UN auspices, so that Afghanistan is recognized by the world community as a neutral and demilitarized country.

Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have unity of views on a political solution to the Afghan problem. Afghanistan has expressed resolute support for all the Soviet leadership's official statements, the president pointed out.

Afghan society is at a relatively complex period of its history. The PDPA, while being one of the main political forces in society, cannot cope with all difficulties on its own. At the same time the party is, at the present stage, more cohesive than ever. Unity and cohesion are the chief sources of its successes, Najibullah emphasized.

Paper Notes PDPA Central Committee Slogans
PM2912102188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Dec 88 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Situation in Afghanistan"]

[Text] Kabul, 27 Dec—The peace-loving aspirations of the PDPA leadership are reflected in the slogans of the PDPA Central Committee, which have been published in the newspaper HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR on the 24th anniversary of the foundation of the party.

The Central Committee urges PDPA members to struggle for peace and an end to the war in Afghanistan and to contribute in every way to the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation. The peaceful settlement of the military conflict in the country is the party's main task at present. The slogans note that the restoration of peace is directly connected with the political settlement of the Afghan problem as a whole. The Geneva agreements and subsequent proposals by Afghanistan and the USSR have created a good basis for this. The convocation of an international conference on neutrality and the demilitarization of the country could make an important contribution to the stabilization of the situation and to ending bloodshed. Noting the absolute necessity of resolving disputes between Afghans by peaceful means, the Central Committee at the same time calls on party members to defend the motherland and the people against those who reject the idea of reconciliation and continue the senseless war for their own narrow selfish aims.

Under the prevailing conditions, the slogans stress, an important task of every party member is to consolidate the unity of the PDPA's ranks and to combat all anti-party phenomena such as factionalism, cliquism, irresponsibility, adventurism, and pursuit of narrow local interests. The PDPA must strengthen its alliance with other leftist democratic parties and public organizations and cooperate closely with the National Front of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The slogans pay special attention to Afghan-Soviet friendship. It is a national asset and all Afghan patriots must preserve and deepen the friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples.

RSFSR Foreign Minister Comments on Afghanistan
LD2812095388 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—"Among the political landmarks of the outgoing year 1988 one cannot fail to single out the Geneva agreements which opened the way for a political settlement of the Afghanistan situation and created prerequisites for an end to the sanguinary war there. It is also of importance that the Geneva agreements became a model for settling other regional conflicts," Vladimir Vinogradov, the Russian Federation's minister of foreign affairs, has said in an interview with TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov.

A tremendous material damage has been inflicted upon Afghanistan over the years of the undeclared war which the Afghan opposition could not have waged were it not for large-scale military, financial and other aid from the United States, Pakistan, and regional reactionaries.

Considerable manpower and material losses have been inflicted as a result of artillery and rocket bombardment of towns and villages, the planting of mines on roads, and the destruction of economic facilities as well as schools and shops. This is why Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal, made from the rostrum of the U.N. General Assembly, to cease fire throughout the territory of Afghanistan from January 1, next year, and simultaneously to stop the supply of weapons to all warring sides, is so topical.

In order to give assistance to the population of Afghanistan, the Russian Federation has established direct contacts between Moscow and Kabul as well as between Astrakhan, Orenburg, Saratov, and Chelyabinsk regions and Afghan Provinces of Farah, Nangarhar, Helmand, and Kabul. Diverse relief supplies—clothes, food, and other goods—are brought to Afghanistan from these and other cities and regions of the Russian Federation.

The Soviet Union consistently implements the Geneva agreements. Specifically, it intends to complete the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan by February 15. However, this measure is only one of many provisions of the Geneva agreements.

Regrettably, the United States continues to give military and financial aid to the Afghan opposition while Pakistan hinders refugees from returning home and infiltrates weapons into the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan.

"These violations of the Geneva agreements cannot but give rise to active protests in all countries. To bring about peace in Afghanistan is the concern of the entire international community," Vladimir Vinogradov said. "The world becomes a single mechanism outside which not a single stage can normally develop whatever its social system and whatever its socio-economic level."

Britain's Howe Comments on Afghan Situation
LD2712083588 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT 27 Dec 88

[Text] London December 27 TASS—"There are real grounds for optimism" about a settlement in Afghanistan, Sir Geoffrey Howe, British foreign secretary said in a statement circulated here on Tuesday.

"The Soviet Union is committed under the Geneva agreements to withdrawing all its forces from Afghanistan by 15 February," the document says.

To avoid more bloodshed, it is important that all parties, including the resistance, "exercise wisdom and restraint." "It is time to heal wounds, not to settle old scores," the statement says.

"The United Nations has played an important role in fostering agreement in Geneva and in coordinating the international aid effort. This is a welcome example of the way in which the United Nations has re-established itself as a real force for peace".

The minister accepted that the reconstruction of the country would be difficult but wished it success.

"The New Year brings with it new hope that peace and prosperity will one day return to Afghanistan," the statement concludes.

28 Killed in Afghan Opposition Attacks

LD2812125488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] In Afghanistan units of the armed opposition have again shelled the capital and a number of other towns. Radio Kabul has reported that in the last 2 days alone 28 people have died and dozens of peaceful inhabitants been injured in Kabul, Herat, Qonduz and a number of areas of Paktia Province. About 300 surface-to-surface missiles, supplied to extremists via Pakistan, have been fired on villages in Paktia alone.

Moscow Comments on Ending Afghan Bloodshed

LD2812210588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Commentary by Vladimir Fadeyev; introduced by program presenter Andrey Ptashnikov]

[Text] [Ptashnikov] The situation in Afghanistan has been developing in a complicated manner for some 8 years. Let us say it right out—a very difficult mission has fallen to the lot of our soldiers. There have been heroic feats and tragic sacrifices. But during these days all Russians and many people in our world wish sincerely that this winter might be the last one on Afghan soil for Soviet servicemen. Our boys are already being waited for back home. The time for the last Soviet soldiers to cross the Soviet-Afghan border is not far off. But this does not mean that one can say with confidence today that peace for the Afghan people is a matter which has been resolved, and a question for the very immediate future. No, the senseless war is continuing, and the list of victims and destruction is, unfortunately, supplemented each day. Hundreds of rockets and artillery shells, the BAKHTAR agency reports, have exploded again on the streets of Afghan towns in the last 24 hours alone; tens of people have been killed and injured; the rebels are conducting wide-scale combat operations in a number of the country's provinces.

So, what can one say about the present situation in Afghanistan?

I'm putting this question to my colleague, commentator Vladimir Fadeyev:

[Fadeyev] The situation is very problematic. On the one hand, the whole world can see that the policy of national reconciliation has already simply become the official policy of the Afghan state, and, although its opponents have put up all manner of obstacles in the way of its implementation, it has today become reality, and has determined many changes in the country's public life. However, on the other hand we are almost daily receiving reports from Kabul on the continuing bloodshed. It looks as though neither side is certain of attaining victory merely by military means, though: peace and concord in the country can be achieved only through negotiations and a search for points of mutual understanding.

But here is where the stumbling block lies. The Government of Afghanistan and the USSR are adhering to a common point of view on a political settlement of the Afghan problem. Kabul is proposing to the opposition that power be shared—that is to say, its representatives should join a coalition government. The Afghan and Soviet leadership have proposed holding an international conference on the neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan; the latter will mean that all the weapons accumulated over many years will be collected and conveyed to the countries which produced them. Kabul is also proposing summoning a Grand Assembly, at which it will be possible to decide the country's fate. However, the mujahidin are still talking solely about the transfer of power to them. It must be said that they are supported in these aspirations by Washington.

It is not difficult to understand from this what is moving the opposition, who are stubbornly reluctant to participate in the peacemaking process, and who are weighing up plans to seize the capital after the return home of Soviet forces. I don't know, to be sure, how account is being taken here in these plans of such a factor as the presence of almost 2 million civilians in Kabul today and the fact that the Afghan Army, in spite of a whole series of shortcomings which are inherent in it today, knows how to fight. Consequently, both the opposing sides can unleash widescale military operations, but then what? What sort of fate will await the civilians then? So I think that the opposition, which is of a bellicose disposition, and those who are supporting it, should make their decisions in a very well-considered and sober manner.

After all, for over a month already some field commanders have been showing restraint in conducting military operations, and it looks as though they are far from

supporting the top leaders in Peshawar on everything, especially on their extremist pretensions to the right to present themselves in the capacity of sole representatives of the Afghan people. It is perfectly obvious that this is just as incorrect as the claims laid to the role for a long time by the PDPA. Now, in such a complex situation, the United Nations can both play the important role of a coordinator of fulfilment of the Geneva Agreements by all sides, and act in the capacity of a force capable of assisting the establishment of peace in Afghanistan. The specific initiatives of our country and Afghanistan are aimed in that very direction.

Therefore, I should like to conclude my commentary with words from a statement on Afghanistan made by Geoffrey Howe, Great Britain's minister [as heard] of foreign and commonwealth affairs, during the last days of the year now ending: the time has come to heal wounds and not to settle old accounts, that document stresses, and one cannot but agree with that.

Afghan Approval of Soviet Aid Documents Viewed

LD2212031788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Aleksandr Malikov commentary from the "International Diary" program presented by Andrey Ptashnikov]

[Text] [Ptashnikov] Here we have a telegram from Kabul. The BAKHTAR News Agency reports that the council of Ministers session held in the Afghan capital discussed and approved Soviet-Afghan agreements that were examined during the visit of Afghan Prime Minister Sharq to the Soviet Union in September of this year. Among the documents that were approved is the agreement on the supply, without charge to the republic of Afghanistan, of a range of goods next year. I shall ask my colleague Aleksandr Malikov to comment on that report.

[Malikov] I think the very fact that the Afghan Government is thinking and deciding at the present time how best and where to direct Soviet aid next year points to the fact that it feels sufficiently confident. Confident in spite of the fact that the opposition has become active and is continuing armed seige in a number of key provincial centers. The military aspect of events does, incidentally, appear to have pushed into the background the changes occurring on the civilian front. They are no less substantial in determining the fate of Afghans in the very near future. It is true that the country's economy is burdened with many unsolved problems, but the government, which is essentially already a coalition government in part, is not just sitting back with its arms folded. A self-critical approach is prevalent. And this means that people responsible for conducting a more sober economic policy are inquiring of themselves, first and foremost.

What were things like previously? Kabul's envoys in our country would order whatever suited them personally—expensive dinner and tea services, buses and minibuses for official use, electrical equipment for minor districts where, incidentally, there is no supply at the moment. In general, to be frank about it, they acquired things that were far from necessities. Now, before obtaining one kind of aid or another, the governor, for example, who goes to the assisting republic or oblast in the Soviet Union, must determine the range of goods that his province really needs. The establishment of more direct, sound ties of this type is perhaps a gap which has to be filled.

The shop, the private entrepreneur, is a figure that is traditionally prominent in Afghan society. They play an important part, not only in economic but frequently in political life—just as the Afghan eastern bazaar, let's say, is an exceptionally precise barometer of the Afghans' mood. Why am I saying this? Because the present government has taken a new approach precisely to these figures. It has been proposed that they should build factories and set up joint stock companies; restrictions on cooperation with foreign capital and on trips abroad have been removed for them. Private property owners are having returned to them the sums in the bank that were illegally expropriated from them. What is more, the banks have received instructions to give private traders credits on favorable terms. The thread of such cooperation, once broken by unjustified repressions, will gradually and increasingly bring the entrepreneurs and the authorities closely together. This is occurring not only in the center, but deep within the provinces as well. The new form that our cooperation with Afghanistan is taking is precisely that of building commercial bridges and of providing aid to the Afghan private sector.

There is yet another substantial aspect to the changes. That is the serious and principle-based struggle against corruption that has been started in the country. For example, the Afghan press has written about a case where individual bureaucrats grew rich on the free aid being supplied by our country. In order to tie the hands of black marketeers, the government, with the consent of the Soviet side, has proceeded with the following measure: goods being supplied as free aid are being sold directly to the population.

The bureaucracy is, incidently, being somewhat reduced. Whereas in the early years after the April revolution the government consisted of sixty people, at the present time there are thirty ministers. And another ten will evidently soon have to leave. The logic of the path is clear. Ten people should not be doing the work that one can readily cope with. And once again this represents a saving of such necessary funds. I have only cited individual instances in the changes on the civilian front. But even these, to a certain extent, allow one to draw a general picture of the fact that the Afghan Government is in parallel with the policy of national reconciliation, conducting important economic reforms which are called upon to reinforce it fundamentally. This experiment will

undoubtedly be worthwhile if, as a result of the nationwide dialogue, the coalition becomes even further ramified and an authority is created that will ultimately being about an end to the fratricidal war.

Moldavian Equipment Aids Afghan Province

LD1912202688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1023 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Summary] Kishinev, 19 Dec (TASS)—Building materials, earthmoving machinery, and various pumps required for organizing water supplies have been sent from Moldavia to the Afghan's Ghazni Province this year. A new protocol was signed in Kishinev today on expanding gratis aid to this province in 1989.

The Afghan specialists who came to Moldavia to sign the protocol were briefed on land improvement projects operating there. Next year extra tractors, bulldozers, and drilling equipment will be sent to Afghanistan and Afghan workers will come to Moldavia to learn to use such equipment. Handpumps for use in Afghanistan will be manufactured in Kishinev starting next year. The Afghan specialists with Vladislav Kutyrkin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of Moldavian Gosplan, to thank the Moldavian people for their aid.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Greets Bendjedid

LD2312131488 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 23 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 23 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament) in a message to Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid extended congratulations on his re-election to the high post.

The message expressed confidence that traditional relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and Algeria would further develop from the benefit of the peoples in the two countries, in the interests of mankind's advancement towards a nonviolent and nuclear weapon-free world.

Economic Talks Held With Syrian Delegation

LD2012121088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0905 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, 19 Dec (TASS)—Questions concerning the further development of business links between the USSR and the Syrian Arab Republic [SAR] are under discussion at a session of the standing Soviet-Syrian commission for economic and scientific and technical cooperation which is being held here.

The USSR delegation to the session is led by Viktor Chernomyrdin, minister of the Gas Industry, and the SAR delegation by Salim Yasin, deputy prime minister for economic affairs.

The present session of the bilateral commission, as a TASS correspondent has been informed in the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, is being regarded by Soviet business circles as an impotant landmark on the path of further deepening mutually beneficial economic links between the USSR and the Syrian Arab Republic. The sides plan, in particular, to use this session to specify areas of cooperation and to define its priorities at the present stage. [passage omitted]

East Europe

GDR Politburo Member Visits Moscow 27-28 Dec

Delegation Arrives

LD2712200188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1807 GMT 27 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—A delegation of the SED led by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, arrived in Moscow this evening. With delegations from the DKP under the leadership of Kurt Bachmann, member of the DKP Party Council Presidium, and from the SEW under the leadership of Hans Mahle, member of the Executive Bureau of the SEW Party Council, the SED delegation will take part in a ceremonial event and other events in Moscow on the occasion of the 70th founding anniversary of the Communist Party of Germany.

Lays Wreath at Memorial

LD2812101388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0825 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The SED delegation, led by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, which is taking part in Moscow in the festivities to mark the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the KPD, laid a wreath this morning at the memorial to Ernst Thaelmann in the Soviet capital. Together with delegations from the DKP, led by Kurt Bachmann, member of the DKP Party Council Presidium, and from the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin (SEW), led by Hans Mahle, member of the SEW Party Council Executive Bureau, as well as from the Moscow Gorkom, it honored the memory of the great leader of the German international workers' movement.

Afterward there was a meeting in the CPSU Central Committee building between Kurt Hager and Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

This afternoon a celebration is taking place in the CPSU Central Committee Institute for Marxism-Leninism to mark the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of Germany.

Holds Talks With Medvedev

LD2812205788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] On 27-28 December, at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, was in Moscow on a working visit. He had a conversation with Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Comrade Medvedev reported on the work being conducted to implement the instructions of the 19th all-union party conference, to put into effect the radical economic reform and reform of the political system and to restructure the life of the party.

Comrade Hager shared his experience of the construction of socialism in the GDR.

There was a discussion of topical questions of ideological cooperation between the CPSU and SED. An accord was signed between the two parties on a long-term program of cooperation in the area of the social sciences between scientists and scholarly collectives in the USSR and the GDR.

ADN Reports Talks

LD2812210788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1727 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Vadim Medvedev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met in Moscow today for an exchange of views and information about current issues of socialist construction in the GDR and the USSR.

Kurt Hager, who is in Moscow as leader of an SED Central Committee delegation to the festivities to mark the 70th anniversary of the founding of the KPD, conveyed fraternal greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's Council of State, to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which were received with thanks and were warmly reciprocated.

Kurt Hager informed his interlocutor about important aspects of the seven SED Central Committee session. He referred to the high assessment made at the plenum about the progress made in the development of relations between the SED and the CPSU and between the two states and peoples. The working meeting between the two parties' general secretaries in Moscow in September was of historic importance.

This meeting and the GDR exhibition in Moscow marked the start of a new phase in cooperation between the two economies.

The plenary meeting vividly demonstrated the link between continuity and renewal in the SED's approach to the challenges of the present and future. It reflected the party's determination, in the all-around implementation of its socialist concept of society as stipulated in the party program, to continue the course of the unity of economic and social policy and give fresh responses in good time to questions that arise. In this connection the SED pays close attention to deepening and intensifying the exchange of views and experiences with the fraternal parties.

Vadim Medvedev briefed his guest about the CPSU's efforts to implement the decisions of the 19th party conference. The laws approved at the most recent meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet on changes to the constitution and on elections of people's deputies have introduced the first stage of political reform.

At the same time a process of party reorganization is in progress which, in conjuction with the report-back and election movement in the party organizations as far as district level, are bringing about a further increase in the leading role of the party and strengthening its militant power. Vadim Medvedev also outlined in detail the development of the USSR's economy, the current progress and further tasks in implementing the economic reforms and the CPSU's ideological work.

The two sides underlined the two parties' interest in further deepening cooperation in the sphere of the social sciences on the problems of development of socialism, the history of the revolutionary movement and the struggle for peace and social progress.

At the end of the talk, which took place in an atmosphere of traditional friendship and alliance, Kurt Hager and Vadim Medvedev signed an agreement between the SED and the CPSU on the social sciences sphere between GDR and USSR social scientists and research collectives.

Polish PZPR Plenum, Personnel Changes Reported

PM2912111988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin dispatch under the rubric "After the Event": "Changes in PZPR Leadership"]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Dec—In Poland lively comments are being made on the questions raised at the last, 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. The very agenda—"Party reform is a condition of success for the strategy of renewal and reforms"—attests to the need for serious changes in the style and methods of the PZPR's activity.

M. Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who delivered the report, pointed out that a critical reappraisal should be made of work in three main areas.

First, it is necessary to elaborate guidelines defining the party's ideological and political essence. And today these guidelines must be understood in a more modern way, in strict accordance with the dynamics of the changes taking place both in the country and in the international arena. Second, the time has come to specify in detail the party's place and role in the state and in society under conditions of the broad reform of the system of power and government, as well as the profound changes in production relations. Third and finally, it is necessary to set about changing the structure of the party itself and its operating methods, as the present model of the PZPR is going through a definite crisis. In short, a vital need has arisen to elaborate a model of the PZPR in keeping with the realities at the end of the 20th century.

Important fundamental areas and innovative proposals were reflected in the Politburo report, in the plenum speech of W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, in the report of W. Baka, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee—who described the country's economic position with regard to the plan just submitted by the government for consolidating the national economy over the next few years—and in the speeches of other plenum participants. The chief thought ran as follows: The party is, above all, an ideological and political force, and therefore it must abandon the duplication of many economic and other decisions, act within a broad coalition framework, ensure that elected organs really represent different sections of the public, and cooperate closely with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party.

The first part of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum ended after a 2-day session. Taking into account the special importance of the agenda, the plenum will continue its work in January.

The plenum examined organizational questions. A number of comrades were removed from the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, and three party officials were released from their duties as Central Committee members. As the result of a secret ballot the following were elected members of the PZRP Central Committee Politburo: S. Ciosek, who heads the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth; K. Cypryniak, chairman of the PZPR Central Control and Auditing Commission; I. Lubowska, a public figure from Bielsko-Biala; Z. Michalek, chairman of the PZPR Central Committee Agricultural Commission; W. Pyrkosz, general director of the "Teofilow" Plant; G. Rembisz, member of the Central Committee Suggestions and Complaints Commission; J. Rejkowski, corresponding member of the Polish Academy of Sciences; and Z. Swiatek, trade union activist from the "Czerwone Zaglebie" Mine. S. Ciosek, Z. Czarzasty, L. Miller, and M. Stepien became secretaries of the PZPR Central Committee.

Some of those elected to leading posts are not yet widely known in the country. But they have managed to show their worth in practical work. The party now pins great hopes on them.

Hungary's MSZMP Seeks Political Dialogue

PM2912104388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[A. Rudenko dispatch under general heading "Fraternal Newspaper Looking at Problems": "NEPSZABADSAG"]

[Text] Genuine socialist pluralism and large-scale reform of the existing system of political institutions—these were the topics discussed in an interview with Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, by the newspaper NEPSZABADSAG.

The "alternative" associations which engage in political activity from positions of responsibility are not a "factor of obstruction" but an incentive for active political work, G. Fejti noted. They frequently perform the necessary function of new-style public monitoring.

Even though there is in Hungarian society today some mistrust of traditional institutions (including the party) and the question of consolidating all social forces is on the agenda, the MSZMP is prepared to engage in a dialogue with any "alternative" organizations and associations which operate within the framework of legality and recognize the state system existing in the Hungarian People's Republic and the republic's membership of the system of international treaties of alliance. The dialogue with these organizations can and must be constant. After all, Hungary still lacks the historical experience which might enable it to properly appraise the alternative associations as a special kind of political movement.

On the other hand, the MSZMP has neither reasons nor the desire to engage in talks with some groups which are increasingly openly taking a stance against the constitutional order in the Hungarian People's Republic, the country's membership of the Warsaw Pact Organization, and socialist values.

In the long run the MSZMP, having freed itself from a series of functions improper for a political organization, will be transformed from a party-cum-administrator into a genuine political party. Today, however, it places the main emphasis in its work on maintaining stability within the country, consolidating the party ranks, and preventing processes which might get out of control, G. Fejti emphasized in the interview.

Chebrikov Receives Bulgarian Party Official
PM2912135388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In an Atmosphere of Comradeship"]

[Text] A delegation of BCP party workers headed by V. Palin, member of the BCP Central Committee and chief of the BCP Central Committee Social and National Security Department, which visited the USSR 19 through 23 December, familiarized itself with the main areas and substance of the reform of the legal system.

V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had talks with V. Palin in an atmosphere of party comradeship.

Stashenkov-Led CPSU Delegation in Bulgaria
PM2912101588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Trip to Bulgaria"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by N.A. Stashenkov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Socio-economic Department, which was in Bulgaria 19-24 December, studied the BCP's experience of work in the economic sphere. A useful exchange of information on economic reforms in the two countries took place during conversations at the BCP Central Committee and Sofia and Plovdiv party committees, and in the course of visits to industrial enterprises and social sphere facilities.

The CPSU delegation was received by E. Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

Katushev Signs Trade Protocol With Bulgaria
LD2901011180 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1836 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, 28 Dec (TASS)—K.F. Katushev, the USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and A. Lukanov, the minister of foreign economic relations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria [PRB] signed an intergovernmental protocol here today on trade-turnover and payments between the USSR and the PRB in 1989.

Under this document deliveries to the PRB from the USSR of oil, petroleum products, coal, natural gas, cotton, chemicals and other goods will continue. Metal-cutting lathes, tractors, roadmaking and agricultural machines, cars and trucks, and ships will be delivered in large quantities.

The PRB will supply the USSR with transporting and hoisting machines, equipment for the agro-industrial complex, electronic computer equipment, ships and ship's equipment. There are also provisions for deliveries of consumer goods and food.

Cooperation will continue in the construction of atomic and thermal power stations and in reconstruction of industrial enterprises and other installations on PRB territory, as well as in the exploitation of the Yamburg gas condensate deposit and in the construction of the Yamburg-Western border of the USSR Gas pipeline. The beginning is envisaged of realization by the Bulgarian side of its obligations in the construction of the Krivorog ore-enrichment combine.

The protocol reflects mutual deliveries of goods on a basis of direct reduction contacts between enterprises and organizations in the two countries and of other progressive forms of cooperation, and reflects the rendering of services connected with the realization of the complex program for scientific-technical progress of CMEA member-countries up to the year 2000.

T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and Chairman of the PRB Council of State, received K.F. Katushev today.

During the conversation, the development of Soviet-Bulgarian economic relations, which are based on the agreed policy of the CPSU and BCP and the governments to bring the two fraternal countries and peoples together in a comprehensive manner, was rated highly. It was noted that in conditions of the deep revolutionary restructuring of socialist society, new opportunities are being created for lending dynamism to cooperation and enhancing its effectiveness.

K.F. Katushev was also received by G. Atanasov, chairman of the PRB Council of Ministers. An exchange of information on the restructuring of social and political life in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union took place.

West Europe

Yakovlev Meets Swiss Workers' Party Secretary
LD2912123588 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, a Politburo member, a CPSU Central Committee secretary, had a meeting with Jean Spielman, general secretary of the Swiss Workers' Party, at the CPSU Central Committee today.

They had a comradely exchange of opinions on topical problems of international communist and working-class movement, on the contribution to be made by the Communists, other progressive forces of Europe to materialising the all-European home and European cooperation concept.

Gorbachev Message to Brandt on Jubilee

LD1712152488 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev has sent the following congratulatory telegram to Willi Brandt, honorary chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), chairman of the Socialist International:

"Dear Mr Brandt,

"Accept heart-felt congratulations on the occasion of your jubilee.

"Your eventful life is as if a reflection of the epoch which has confronted the peoples, states and parties with a real choice: to be or not to be. If the former is chosen, then with whom? In a quest for answer to the challenges of the times you had your say and determined your attitude which—any politician would be gratified by this—finds its confirmation now in our reviving world."

"We wish you Mr Brandt strong health and creative energies in the name of good."

Gorbachev Sends Condolences to Thatcher on Crash

LD2312132988 Moscow TASS in English 1325 GMT 23 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 23 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev sent a telegram to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, expressing condolences over the crash of a plane in her country, which killed a number of people, including Britons.

Cooperation Commission With Denmark Ends Session

LD1012151488 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Text] Copenhagen December 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Kiselev:

The Soviet-Danish Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation ended its 11th session in the Danish capital. It considered fulfilment of a long-term plan for economic and industrial cooperation between the two countries. Participants in the session noted a certain growth in bilateral trade and said there are possibilities for expanding it and making it more stable.

The sides are going to pay special attention to the introduction of new forms of cooperation including co-production and joint ventures. Such areas as wind-power engineering, space research and arctic exploration offer most favourable conditions for broadening bilateral cooperation. The sides agreed to hold a Festival of Soviet Science and Technology in Denmark next year.

The sides signed an intergovernmental credit agreement for financing deliveries of Danish machinery and equipment to the USSR.

The Danish business quarters watched with much interest the work of the commission which paid great attention to matters connected with the establishment of Soviet-Danish joint ventures. Several such enterprises have already been set up.

Twenty more joint venture projects are being actively negotiated. They include plans for cooperation in the manufacture of equipment for the dairy industry and cement plants, and devices for automating biotechnological processes.

Economic Research Center Founded With Italy

LD1012230988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0915 GMT 10 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 10 Dec (TASS)—An analysis of the state of trade affairs in the world and the state of Soviet and Italian markets, consultations between Soviet and foreign firms, the training of managers—this is by no means a full list of the services which the joint Soviet-Italian enterprise "International Center for Further Training and Economic Research" will offer. Representatives of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and the Italian "Nomizma" economic research society signed an agreement in the Soviet capital concerning the center's founding.

A joint governing body and a scientific committee, which will comprise academic economists and managers, will direct the activity of the center.

By agreement the center will be open to new bodies from the USSR, Italy, and other countries to join.

Latin America & Caribbean

Gorbachev's New Year Message to Panama's Solis

PA2912144388 Panama City LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 28 Dec 88 pp 1, 6

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has sent a New Year's message to Panamanian President Manuel Solis Palma through Soviet Ambassador to Costa Rica Vadim Rozanov [name as published].

The note delivered to Panamanian Ambassador to Costa Rica Dario Arosemena reads as follows:

San Jose, 28 December 1988

Your Excellency:

I am honored to send to you a translation of a New Year's message to Panamanian President Manuel Solis Palma from Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and secretary general of the CPSU.

The original message will be sent to Your Excellency as soon as it arrives in the diplomatic pouch.

I take this opportunity to express to you my highest esteem.

Vadim Rozanov, USSR ambassador

To His Excellency Dario Arosemena, Panamanian ambassador

San Jose, Costa Rica

"To His Excellency Manuel Solis Palma, president of the Republic of Panama

Distinguished Mr President:

I send greetings to you and your family on occasion of the 1989 New Year.

My best wishes for good health, happiness and success in your activities.

Sincerely,

M. Gorbachev"

Fidel Castro Cited on Detente, Cuban Economy

PM2912100188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Priority Avenues"]

[Text] Havana, 24 Dec—Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and president of the republic's Councils of State and Ministers, urged the achievement of new positive results in the sphere of detente in the international arena. Speaking Friday [23 December] at the conclusion of the fourth session of the National Assembly of People's Government, Third Convocation, he emphasized that Cuba welcomes the thaw in the climate of international relations.

At the same time, F. Castro assessed the 8 years of rule by the Reagan administration as a period of constant threat against Cuba, and recalled that the republic had had to make considerable efforts to consolidate its defense capability. Cubans intend to strengthen defense in order to oppose any aggressive design by the adversary.

The Cuban leader noted that, over the last few years, the republic's economic development had been hindered by a series of negative factors.

In these harsh economic conditions, F. Castro said, we adhered to the course of maintaining the levels of development achieved in the spheres of health care services, education, and the supply of foodstuffs and industrial goods to the population. The number of doctors in Cuba has increased in the last few years, and major new health care facilities have been built. Priority has been given to the development of plans for the construction of housing and kindergartens.

Political & Social

Moscow Gorkom Nominates Gorbachev as Candidate

LD2812185588 Moscow TASS in English 1823 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was nominated candidate to people's deputies of the USSR by the Moscow city party organization.

Under the new Law on the Election of People's Deputies of the USSR, one third of the deputies to the supreme body of state authority of the USSR (750 people) will represent public organizations. Under the law on election, 100 deputies will be elected from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Other candidates from the Moscow city party organization are head of the Soviet Government Nikolay Ryzhkov, secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and leader of Moscow Communists Lev Zaykov, chief editor of the newspaper PRAVDA Viktor Afanasyev, chairman of the council of the work collective of the Lenin Komsomol Autoworks, fitter Dmitriy Iovlev, turner of the Moscow plant of refrigerator machine-building "Compressor" Viktor Lunev.

Politburo Meets, Discusses Gorbachev UN Visit

LD2812220088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1915 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 28 Dec (TASS)—The CPSU Politburo, at a meeting that took place on 28 December, heard a report given by M.S. Gorbachev on his visit to the United Nations and meetings with the U.S. leadership in New York. Having fully approved the political results of this journey, the Politburo noted that it has become one of the most important events of international life.

The constructive initiatives concerning the reduction of the armed forces and weapons of the Soviet Union, the further promotion of matters at talks, concerned with the strengthening of international security and the settlement of regional conflicts, which were put forward in the speech of the Soviet leader, create a very full, business-like program of specific actions, calculated to speed up the achievement of material progress on matters of the greatest concern to the world.

The ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress concerning the creation of a comprehensive system of international security at the same time as ensuring social progress in accordance with the conditions and realities which have come about on the eve of the 21st century, concerning the extension of cooperation between states and of dialogue with the widest spectrum of political and social forces, have found their development in this program.

The conversations with R. Reagan and G. Bush which took place in New York, confirmed the exceptionally important significance accorded by both sides to constructive continuity, stability, and predictability in Soviet-U.S. relations.

In the connection the practical possibility was noted of making further progress along the principal directions that constitute the gist of the agenda of the developing dialogue between the USSR and the United States.

Emphasized at the session was the unvarying nature of our policy aimed at enhancing the role of the United Nations as a unique instrument of world politics that is of enormous significance for creating a peaceful period in the development of civilization.

Guided by a sincere intention to implement consistently the policy that was proposed to the world community, and also motivated by the need for a precise, full and open implementation of the measures announced to reduce unilaterally the Soviet armed forces and armaments, the Central Committee Politburo instructed Communist heads of ministries and departments to complete, on an accelerated basis, the formulation of specific plans to being them into practical effect.

The session examined thoroughly a report from the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission on the progress of the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake in the Armenian SSR. It was noted that the earthquake that occurred in northwestern areas of the Armenian SSR on 7 December was exceptionally serious and destructive, that the battle to cope with its consequences required a considerable exertion of effort, and that it was a serious test for the republic and the country as a whole. Armenia's misfortune aroused profound sympathy from all the Soviet people and gave rise to a voluntary movement to render assistance to the fraternal people that was unprecedented by peacetime standards. The energetic internationalism of Soviet people, expressing itself above all in a mobilization of effort by the whole country and each of its republics, was a decisive factor in countering the disaster.

In the exceedingly complex situation that arose, the address by M.S. Gorbachev to the Armenian people on the day of the earthquake, his arrival directly in the area of the natural disaster, and the adoption there of the decision to grant the necessary urgent and all-around assistance were of tremendous importance.

It was noted at the session that the stage of rescue work is now basically completed. The operational effectivness of the adopted measures, the creation of an effective mechanism of emergency administration under the leadership of the commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo headed by N.I. Ryzhkov, the concentration of resources and efforts, as well as the bravery and charity of tens of thousands of people have made their mark. It was possible to master quickly the situation in the disaster area, to develop large-scale rescue work, and to provide the

population with vital supplies and services. All efforts were focused primarily on saving human life. A total of 15,254 persons were released alive from the debris. At the same time it is a cause of deep sorrow that 24,390 persons brought out from ruined buildings were dead and 427 persons died in the hospitals.

The Central Committee Politburo as a whole positively evaluated the activities of the republican party organization. The Armenian Communists fully shared the grief of the people and led the work of the republic's working people for finding a way out of the tragic situation. A tremendous contribution toward overcoming the consequences of the earthquake was made by Soviet servicemen who assumed the main burden of priority rescue work, by military-transport and civilian air force, and by transport workers and medics, of which there are now more than 5,000 specialists in the disaster area.

The Politburo noted with gratitude and approval the humane efforts of the Soviet trade unions, the Komsomol, and other public organizations that organized the evacuation of children, women, and elderly people from the stricken areas. The evacuation has now virtually been completed. A total of 105,000 people have been removed from the disaster areas, of whom 65,000 have gone to sanatoria and rest holiday homes in the southern regions of the country.

The homeland has lavished maternal care on the children from the stricken areas: They are under qualified medical supervision, and Armenian-language schools are being opened for them in the holiday resorts. The high level of thoughtfulness of tens of thousands of Soviet citizens, who broke off their treatment on holiday in trade union and other spas in order to vacate places for those stricken was noted especially.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo stressed that the Soviet people met this hour of trial with the dignity, self-possession, deep spiritual responsiveness and cohesion characteristic of them. It expressed gratitude to all who did and are doing their bit to overcome the disaster. Communists are setting an example of selfless actions on the most difficult sections of rescue and restoration work. During these dramatic days Moscow has assumed a truly internationalist mission and responsibility—the central bodies of the party and state have become the headquarters in eliminating the aftermath of the earthquake.

The efforts by foreign state, international organizations, firms, individual foreign citizens who have responded ardently to our disaster, evoke the profound gratitude of the Soviet people. More than 2,000 foreign specialists have made a noble contribution to the rescue of those stricken.

At the same time one can only mention the following. The display of patriotic, internationalist feelings and the natural flood of gratitude from the Armenian people to other peoples of the country who have selflessly extended the hand of fraternal aid to them have perturbed those people who, by playing on national feelings, have sown enmity and discord and incited people to unlawful activities. Various kinds of antisocial elements have made another attempt to "capitalize" on the nationwide misfortune, to discredit the efforts of party and state bodies and people's selflessness and compassion, and by so doing have exposed themselves irrevocably. The citizens of Armenia, including presigious representatives of the intelligentsia, have resolutely dissociated themselves from the adventurists and instigators. This is one more reality of these dramatic days and events.

The Politburo has stressed the need to speed up the development of the second state—the restoration of the socioeconomic potential of this vast region of Armenia. There is immense work to be done: More than half a million people have been left homeless and the damage has amounted to approximately R8.5 billion. Manpower and material-technical resources are being concentrated toward this end. All the union republics, as well as ministries and departments of the USSR—first and foremost those whose enterprises were situated in the earthquake zone—will take part in the restoration work. Priority has been given to the social sphere.

It was pointed out at the session that the consequences of the earthquake have been partially intensified because previously construction work here has been carried out without due regard for the seismic situation. The quality of the construction work was also poor.

Such a state of affairs cannot be allowed to recur. It was noted that a state commission has been set up to investigate the reasons for the destruction of mass-produced dwellings.

The necessary decisions and measures will be taken on the results of its work, and the public will be informed.

A state interdepartmental commission on urban development, which will examine and decide on questions of the planning and construction of the centers of population which suffered from the earthquake, was also formed. Areas for the siting of three- and four-storey residential buildings and individual houses, production and municipal warehouse zones, and historical building districts which are subject to comprehensive reconstruction have been defined, in the main, in the towns of Leninakan and Kirovakan, on the basis of the preliminary outlines of general plans. All construction must be conducted with regard for national peculiarities and with the most strict observance of the requirements of seismic stability.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo deemed it necessary to ensure over the next 2 years the restoration of the social and economic potential of the afflicted districts. In connection with this, appropriate amplifications will be inserted into the plans for economic and social development for 1989 and 1990. Decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of

Ministers on aid measures to the Armenian SSR have been adopted, in which it is envisaged to restore and construct residential buildings with an overall area of 4 million square meters, schools, preschool establishments, hospitals and polyclinics in towns and urban settlements in 1989 and 1990. Houses with an overall area of more than 1.6 million square meters and production buildings will be constructed in the countryside. USSR ministries and departments are instructed to restore and build more than 130 industrial enterprises, and also housing and facilities of the social sphere.

The leadership of the Armenian SSR informed the Politburo of the fact that the measures of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government to render large-scale aid to the victims have been received with a feeling of deep gratitude by the population of the disaster regions and all the Armenian people.

Having anlayzed the course of the rescue work in Armenia and having drawn the necessary conclusions from this, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo deemed it expedient to prepare at the USSR Council of Ministers proposals on the formation of a unified state system, providing timely preparation for actions in extreme conditions, and precise coordination and interaction of all necessary special services. It was recommended that the USSR Academy of Sciences and other competent organizations thoroughly analyze the activity of the country's seismic service and outline radical measures for improvement of its work. It was noted that unification of efforts on an international scale is expedient from the viewpoint of universal interests for forecasting earthquakes and overcoming the consequences of major natural disasters and calamities.

Information from the USSR Council of Ministers noted that in the immediate future proposals of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Ministry of Atomic Energy, and leading specialists about the future of the Armenian AES will be examined and that a corresponding decision will be adopted.

Having paid tribute to the selflessness and charitableness, and to the decisive development of the rescue and restorative works, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo nevertheless also drew attention to the serious lessons which must be learned from what happened and from the experience gained from actions in an extraordinary situation.

Turning once again with words of sorrow and encouragement, to those who went through the tragedy and to all the fraternal Armenian people the CPSU Central Committee Politburo expressed its firm conviction that, along with the entire country and in the common family of our peoples, the working people of Soviet Armenia, who are known for their assiduity and tenaciousness, will raise the cities and villages from the ruins within 2 years. This will be both a memorial to those who died an untimely death and an expression of care for the present and the future.

S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, have also been included as members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission for the elimination of the aftermath of the earthquake in the Armenian SSR.

The meeting examined the state of affairs as regards the fulfillment of earlier adopted decisions concerning the accelerated development of machine-building and its fundamental modernization on the basis of scientific and technical progress. It was noted that as a result of the measures adopted by party, local soviet and economic bodies, certain qualitative changes have taken place in the structure of the machines and equipment being produced, the renewal of machine-building production was speeded up, and the share of major equipment which is up to the level of present-day world achievements has increased.

At the same time one cannot find satisfactory the state of fulfillment of the party's fundamental decisions on the development of machine-building in the past years of the 12th 5-Year Plan-period. The leading officials of central departments and machine-building and other ministries have not adopted positions of principle in the implementation of tasks of the program for the modernization of machine-building, and have not in actual fact ensured the priorities which had been set for the machine-building complex in determining the volumes of investments and in allocating resources for the production of up-to-date equipment, and the construction and reconstruction of machine-building enterprises and scientific organizations.

The transfer of machine-building to a qualitatively new technological basis is being implemented too slowly. The development of the scientific-technical potential of machine-building and the planned rates of growth for the volume of research and development are considerably behind what is required in real life.

The leaders of machine-building ministries and associations are slowly restructuring the style of their activity in accordance with the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th party conference and are exploiting poorly the opportunities being furnished by radical economic reform.

Attention was drawn to the inadmissibility of any deviation from genuinely safeguarding the priority nature of the program for modernizing machine-building taking into account its special economic and social significance and its determining role in the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the intensification of the economy,

and the revamping of the national economy. The Politburo took note of the fact that the machine-building bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and the appropriate central departments and ministries will analyze in a self-critical manner the reasons for the disruptions that have occurred and will draw up in the first half of 1989 a program of radical measures ensuring the accelerated development of machine-building and bringing in the 13th 5-Year Plan period its scientific-production potential into line with present-day requirements.

The Central Committee Politburo examined reports of a working group about the progress of the preparations for a draft law of the USSR on local self-management and the local economy. It is intended to submit to nationwide discussion the draft law whose preparation has to be finished in the first quarter of next year.

The results of M.S. Gorbachev's conversation and E.A. Shevardnadze's talks with PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, who was in the Soviet Union on an official visit, were examined at the session. It was noted that, thanks to the efforts of both sides, Soviet-Chinese relations are continuing to develop consistently toward the deepening of friendship and cooperation between the two neighboring socialist countries. The results of the visit testify to the start of a qualitatively new stage in political dialogue between the USSR and the PRC. An accord in principle to hold a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting was reached.

The results of the trip by a CPSU delegation led by V.A. Medvedev to the 12th Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP] were examined. It was ascertained with satisfaction that stable, fraternal relations, based on the broad unity of views of the two parties on the fundamental problems of the present time, are developing between the CPSU and the PCP. The positive character of the exchange of opinions with President M. Soares of Portugal was noted, an exchange which confirmed the importance of the continuation of the Soviet-Portugese dialogue as a substantial factor in the international cooperation in Europe.

The report of E.A. Shevardnadze on the results of his visit to Japan, the Philippines, and the DPRK was heard at the session. It was noted that the top leaders of Japan, the Philippines, and the DPRK evaluate positively the Krasnoyarsk initiatives, which directly concern the Asian- Pacific Ocean region, and are welcoming the most important proposals which M.S. Gorbachev made at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly.

It was stressed that in the conversations and consultations which took place in tokyo the USSR and Japan clearly declared their intention to make a contribution to the process of improving the international situation and of ameliorating Soviet-Japanese relations and to expand for such purposes the political dialogue and increase its level.

The Soviet Union's readiness to open a new chapter in the history of the development of relations with Japan by joint efforts with the Japanese side was reaffirmed. It was noted that the exchange of opinions held with the Philippines leaders and the accords reached there will help to improve mutual understanding and cooperation between the two countries and to continue to make Soviet-Philippines contacts more active.

E.A. Shevardnadze's conversations with Kim Il-Song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee and president of the DPRK, and his talks with other leaders of that country have deepened mutual understanding and demonstrated the two sides' desire for the further consolidation of friendly relations and the growth of interaction with a view to achieving detente and a general improvement in the situation in the Korean peninsula and in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole.

Brezhnev, Chernenko Names Removed From Plaques
LD2912124488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council Of Ministers, at the suggestion of labor collectives, local residents, and local party committees and soviet bodies, have adopted a decision to remove "named after Brezhnev" from the title on the Oskol electro-metallurgical combine; the Yuzhnyy machine-building production association; the Novorossiysk cement combine; the (?Lyatsnuyyve) Kolkhoz in Orgeyevskiy Rayon in the Moldavian SSR; the Dnepropetrovsk metallurgical institute; a tank training division; the secondary school No 1 of the town of Dnepropetrovsk; a sea-going passenger vessel; and from grants for students of the Moscow State University named after Lomonosov.

The name of Zavodskoy Rayon in Dneprodzerzhinsk has been restored. Previously adopted decisions have also been annulled concerning setting up memorial plaques at the Dneprovsk metallurgical works, the Dneprodzerzhinsk industrial institute, and at House No 26 Kutuzovskiy Prospekt, in the city of Moscow.

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers, at the suggestion of labor collectives, local residents, and local party committees and soviet bodies, have adopted the decision to remove "named after Chernenko" from the title of the Krasnoyarsk grain-combine production association; a sovkhoz in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast in the Kazakh SSR; the prioneers' palace in the town of Penaz; streets in the cities of Moscow, Krasnoyarsk, and Kishinev; the ("Khorgos") border post in the Red Banner Eastern frontier district; and from grants for students at the Krasnoyarsk State University, the Kishinev state teacher training institute named after (Kryange), and the Penza polytechnical institute.

The names of the town of Sharypovo in Krasnoyarsk Kray and of Sholdaneshtskiy Rayon in the Moldavian SSR have been restored. Previously adopted decisions have also been annulled concerning the setting up of memorial plaques at the buildings of one of our border posts and at house No 19 in Moscow city's Bolshaya Bronnaya Street.

Fire at Ignalina AES; No Radiation Danger
LD2912113388 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] One more accident has occured this morning at the Ignalina AES: the second turbo-generator of the first power unit was shut down when the voltage measuring transformer broke down. The flame of the burning lubricant in the transformer was extinguished by the staff members of the AES with an asbestos cloth.

As it has been reported the automated shutting down system operated exellently.

The spokesman for the Ignalina AES said that safe conditions for the operation of the AES have not been violated; the radioactive substances emitted into the atmosphere did not exceed the permitted rate.

The reasons for the breakdown are under investigation.

Accidents at the Ignalina AES this year have been very frequent. As we have reported on several occasions, the Lithuanian public's demand that an international experts commission assess the safety of the Ignalina AES has been granted.

Armenian Nuclear Power Station Safety Examined
LD2912130588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1115 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan, 29 Dec—TASS special correspondent Nikolay Zheleznov reports:

In view of the very powerful earthquake which struck areas of northern Armenia so cruelly, the public of this Transcaucasian republic continues to express concern about the closeness of the Armenian nuclear power station to the southern fault at the center of the earthquake. Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice presient of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who is now in Armenia, replied to questions on this from the TASS correspondent.

"The question of transferring the atomic power station to non-nuclear fuel arose back in 1985," the scientist said. "It was then that a seismic zoning map was compiled by experts, showing that Armenia, and in particular the area of the present disaster, was potentially at risk. This was essentially a long-term forecast. And it was not ignored: the atomic power station was included in a list of places requiring extreme measures to enhance the ability of its buildings and structures to withstand earthquakes."

At the same time, Yevgeniy Velikhov said that these measures were not fully implemented. This indeed explains the emergency visit to the Armenian atomic power station by members of the Interdepartmental Council for Nuclear Power. Moscow scientists from the Institute of Earth Physics, the Igor Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute, seismologists from Soviet Central Asia, Transcaucasus, and Ukraine, and scientists from the United states, France, and Japan have come here. The examination conducted by them confirms the earlier conclusion: If measures to enhance the ability of the buildings of the atomic station to withstand earthquakes are not taken as soon as possible, the reactors should immedately be shut down.

Academician Velikhov drew attention to the fact that the shutting down of this atomic power station, which produces more than one third of the energy obtained in Armenia, would create tremendous economic difficulties, especially during a time when the destroyed towns and villages are being restored. But the experts stated firmly: If the southern fault is activated, and geologists will not rule out the possibility of a Force-8 tremor and the station must be closed down.

Speaking of the effect of the earthquake on the atomic power station, the academician noted that no destruction had been discovered. The basalt platform on which the station rested was located quite far (12-13 km) from the southern fault of the focus and was totally unaffected by the tremors continuing in the northern areas of Armenia.

Nonetheless seismologists, geologists, and engineers are continuing their watch duty at the station. Among them are foreign specialists aa well, who appeared here at the same time as rescue workers from various countries. Yevgeniy Velikhov said: "Japanese seismoligists, who have completed their work, have left their equipment here, which continues to be used. Representatives of the American firm of Bechtel shared their experience with us in evaluating geological conditions during the use of atomic power stations. The guarantees for the future which we have together given out to the Armenian AES are just a small part of the front of solidarity with which the world community responded to our misfortune."

Armenian Party Meeting on Damage, Ethnic Problems
NC2812135588 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 27 Dec 88

[Text] Discussions were held at the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party to examine the republic's major problems. It was noted that the natural disaster affected all the northern regions of the republic and that 21 cities and rayons, comprising 40 percent of the republic's land area with a population of more than 960,000, were (?damaged). The city of Leninakan was turned into ruins, the town of Spitak was virtually wiped off the surface of the earth, and the rayons of Kirovakanskiy, Stepanavanskiy, Spitakskiy, Idzhevanskiy,

Akhuryanskiy, Gukasyanskiy, Amasiyskiy, Gugarskiy, and Araratskiy (?were damaged). Losses also occurred in Dilidzhan, [name indistinct], Tumanyan, Artik, Aparan, Kalinino, and other areas.

Tens of thousands of people, including many children, lost their lives, and 514,000 people were left homeless. Three hundred sixty villages were destroyed and [passage indistinct]. Nearly (?8 million) square meters of residential space, comprising 16 percent of the republic's total housing capacity, were devastated.

Also, [number indistinct] schools and kindergartens, 110 hospitals and clinics, 119 [words indistinct], and 156 industrial enterprises were destroyed or made unusable. The agricultural losses were massive. Nearly 50,000 head of livestock perished. More than 90,000 hectares of irrigated land, many farming structures, and [word indistinct] were devastated. The earthquake is estimated to have caused the republic a loss of approximately R8.5 billion in national resources.

The discussions also examined urgent measures for improving interethnic relations in Armenia. It was noted that interethnic relations in the region are extremely tense. Incidents (?that went out of control) in various areas (?deprived) citizens of their legitimate rights of personal security and led to the exodus of Armenians from Azerbaijan and Azerbaijanis from Armenia. As of (?21) December, more than 170,000 Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan had entered our republic, and more than 130,000 Azerbaijanis had left their places of residence and moved outside the borders of Armenia. There have also been mass migrations of Azerbaijanis in [word indistinct] regions. In some cities and rayons nearly the entire Azerbaijani population has left. It was stated that [passage indistinct] to enable the people of the two neighboring republics to live in peace and harmony, to enable the emigrants to return to their permanent places of residence, and [passage indistinct] for the realization of [word indistinct] of restructuring.

Relief, Rebuilding Efforts Continue in Armenia

Commission Issues Statistics

NC2812140388 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 27 Dec 88

[Text] A total of 105,000 people have already been (?evacuated) from Armenia's quake-damaged areas. This was stated at the regular meeting in Yerevan of the Natural Disaster Relief Commission of the CPSU Central Committee's Politburo. The epidemic situation in the devastated cities and villages is generally normal. [passage indistinct] Telephone communications have already been restored to [word indistinct] villages and [word indisitnct]. [passage indistinct] in Leninakan and Kirovakan. [passage indistinct] More than 70,000 children are being sought by their kinfolk.

Earthquake Commission Meets

PM2812170588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission: Still on the Agenda"]

[Text] The course of restoration work in all sectors in the zone which suffered from the earthquake shows that many important tasks are not being performed with due efficiency and some questions have to be raised anew. The need to ensure full unity between words and deeds was discussed at the 24 December working session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission which was chaired by Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosstroy.

For example, all of the transportation problems—something that is most important and crucial for the pace and schedule of the current stage of eliminating the consequences of the natural calamity—is still on the agenda. Breakdowns within the transportation system have a painful effect on a number of sectors.

Why is it proving impossible to attain the target set for unloading—2,000 cars every 24 hours? The main reason is the same as before—slow progress in the installation of new tracks, unloading sites, and spur lines. The session noted that Leninakan Junction remains a bottleneck. The USSR Ministry of Railways and the Ministry of Transport Construction were instructed to increase the handling capacity of the main railroad's sectors and to accelerate the restoration of the necessary equipment and automatic facilities for this purpose. Instances of cars standing idle were cited. Railroad workers and construction industry workers were assigned the task of urgently studying the question of possibly setting up a major marshaling yard at Masis Station.

It was emphasized that today there is need for precise and coordinated actions by all types of transportation which are crucial for important stages of work like deliveries of temporary housing, equipment, food, and goods. The Transport Militia and the USSR and republican MVD were instructed to step up security on trains traveling to the restoration work zone.

The all-around assistance rendered by the country to the stricken region has made it possible to create a mighty technical potential which, as the working session noted, is not always fully utilized. Several sectors have reported instances of machines and equipment standing idle while they are in acutely short supply elsewhere. This is not the first time this question has been raised at working sessions.

A comprehensive and systematic approach is needed in the distribution of material and technical resources. Imbalances can otherwise develop, like those which were brought to light by an inspection carried out by the

republic Committee for People's Control in a number of Spitakskiy and Akhuryanskiy Rayon villages. A large quantity of virtually unused summer tents were discovered there while detachments engaged in restoration work still need warm housing—yurts, trailer homes, and warm tents. There is a shortage of mattresses, blankets, sleeping bags, kitchen utensils, and a number of other household goods. The commission instructed the USSR Gossnab and the corresponding republican organ to determine the needs of population centers for temporary housing and modules needed for the siting of social, cultural, and consumer service facilities.

Much attention was given to the improvement of trade and public catering in the zone where restoration work is being done. Many speakers noted that changes for the better are slow to appear here. For example, bread is not promptly delivered to many villages. It is necessary to impose stricter monitoring of sanitary conditions at places where people are fed.

Instructions were given to show concern for tasty and varied food and to organize holiday shopping facilities for those who will remain at work over the New Year celebrations.

AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev reported that 99,000 persons have been evacuated since 10 December, of whom 55,000 are in resorts, 2,000 in CPSU Central Committee sanatoriums, and the same number in Komsomol Central Committee sanatoriums and rest homes.

The commission members and the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee leadership expressed gratitude to the All-Union Trade Union Staff for promptly organizing the evacuation of children, women, and the elderly. It was noted that the material assistance rendered by trade unions to the victims is growing—they have already received more than R200,000.

Taking part in the commission's session were L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gossnab, and S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

On Building Normal Life

LD2812234388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1454 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan, 28 Dec (TASS)—The latest working sitting of the CPSU Central Committee Commission, which was conducted today by Yuriy Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was devoted to questions of establishing normal life in the areas of Armenia that suffered from the earthquake. The commission focused on elaborating concrete, complex programs to assure normal activity for those who have remained in the disaster areas and for those who have arrived there to work on restoration. Those measures must be implemented by common efforts of party, Soviet, and management bodies.

It was noted at the sitting that today trade in essential goods is being arranged in the affected cities and rural districts. For instance, 16 food stores, 10 vegetable stores, and 6 industrial good stores are already operating in Leninakan. One self-service shop's activity amounted to R17,000 in 2 days. Several dozen more trade points will be opened in the city by the New Year.

The public catering system is being established. Seventy enterprises are already working where hot food is given free of charge. Comments about the quality and range of food at them are favorable.

However, not all organizations are yet approaching the tasks set with due responsibility. Thus, for example, the Central Union of Consumer Societies, which is obliged to arrange precise and uninterrupted foodstuff supply to the population, is not yet coping with the mission invested on it. The course of the restoration works is being held back due to the irresponsible approach of the Ministry of Finance of the republic toward the evaluation of the damage caused to buildings and facilities. The leaders of such departments have been told to correct the state of affairs quickly and to present the results of their activity to the commission.

The USSR Gosagroprom representative reported on the state of affairs in agriculture in the disaster area. He noted that life in the countryside is gradually returning to normal; preparation is afoot for sowing, and productive processes in livestock farming have been restored and are proceeding normally. Milk yields in Stepanavan District, for instance, are two tonnes higher than for the same period last year. Seventy detachments have arrived to conduct restoration works in rural districts, but there is still an acute shortage of construction materials and equipment. Warm temporary huts for those left homeless are still being brought in.

To make accelerated provisions based on the needs of those who have suffered, a decision was adopted to send housing straight to the villages, bypassing district centers.

The need for precise organization of unloading works at railway stations was noted at the sitting, insofar as the large flow of economic freight from the entire country is constantly growing. The set goal—to discharge of 2,000 cars a day—has not yet been achieved, and this is knocking out the pace of restoration works, and is slowing down the turnover of rolling stock. The initiative of the population in participating in unloading operations was noted with great satisfaction.

It was announced that the number of people evacuated has at the present time reached 106,650, of which 67,244 are from beyond the Armenian borders. In the past day

1,175 people have been evacuated; 1,065 of them went to resorts. The hygiene and epidemiological situation in the earthquake zone is not causing fear.

Officials' Worthy Conduct Cited

NC2912104888 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 29 Dec 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] The paper's editorial is on how the Communists showed their worth during the natural disaster and in their duty to the party and people. Many examples are given where Communists have shown initiative and voluntarily taken upon themselves the weight of responsibility for the fate of people who have suffered in the earthquake and for clearing up and restoring factories, plants and farms. These people also stand as guardians of communal property.

The names of the first secretaries of the Spitakskiy Raykom Norair Grigoriyevich Muradyan, the Leninakan Gorkom Misak Levonovich Mkrtchyan, and the Stepanavanskiy Raykom Yuriy Gaykovich Chushmarityan, who set an example and to whom the Communists of these party organizations compare themselves are well known today far beyond the boundaries of our republic.

At the same time, the paper points out that unfortunately not all Communists in the disaster area displayed their best qualities during this difficult hour.

Work has now begun to liquidate the consequences of the earthquake. Labor collectives whose political nucleus will be the primary party organization are being set up.

The editorial emphasizes that only by displaying high civic activeness and sense of duty will we, in the shortest possible period of time, be able to heal the wounds inflicted by nature and to revive our towns and villages.

Confiscation of Aid Denied

LD2812125188 Moscow TASS in English 1244 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 28 TASS—Aid to the quake victims in Armenia from the Red Cross and Crescent societies was met with great gratitude. The amount of medicine and medical supplies was so great in the disaster area, which lacks warehouses, that it is difficult to find storage for them.

"We have no other way out than to send part of the cargo to the warehouses of a number of ministries and departments," Dmitriy Venediktov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Red Cross and Crescent Society of the USSR, said in a TASS interview. "For example, medicine and medical supplies are sent to the storehouses of the USSR and Armenian Ministry of Health. This caused misunderstanding on the part of some western representatives who treated this fact as confiscation by the government of the untouchable Red Cross cargo. These rumors are connected with the fact that we could not at the initial stage of relief efforts take stock of incoming cargoes. These drawbacks have been eliminated now."

Dmitriy Venediktov said the Soviet side jointly with the representatives of the International League of Red Cross and Crescent Societies held an inspection of warehouses and visited the disaster area. The representatives of the league came to the conclusion that all relief aid was used properly. Information on all Red Cross aid is stored in a computer. Strict control is exercised over their distribution.

Venediktov said there was shortage of tents, warm clothes and stoves in the disaster area where temperatures plunged to 20 degrees centigrade below zero. Today similar aid is provided by the Soviet enterprises, institutions and from abroad.

Appeal to Architects, Builders

NC2912103288 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 29 Dec 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] On page one, the paper publishes an appeal to all architects and builders of Armenia that was adopted at the expanded session of the board of the Union of Armenian Architects. It contains a call for them to devote all their creative strength to planning the restoration and reconstruction of the damaged towns and the reconstitution and development of the entire social and technical infrastructure. It is stressed in particular that the architects and builders must make this generation a witness to the renaissance of the Armenian village and peasantry since the strength of a nation comes from the soil.

'Public Order' Held in Baku, Problems Cited

Champagne, Wine Available

NC2912082788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 27 Dec 88

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] It has already been disclosed that the sale of (?alcoholic) drinks in all of Baku City's specialized shops, restaurants, cafeterias, and dining centers was banned as of 27 November 1988.

However, taking the workers' requests into consideration, the leading officials of city trade establishments will be allowed to sell champagne and (?bottled) wines from 28 to 31 December.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Curfew Violation Figures Updated

NC2812183788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1715 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District, on 28 December]

[Text] Peace prevailed in Baku during (?the day). According to reports from various districts in the city, the people have welcomed the opening of theaters, movie houses, clubs, and other mass cultural establishments. There were no violations of public order.

Nevertheless, 204 people and 12 cars were detained during curfew hours. Eighteen persons were detained under administrative procedures in accordance with the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 23 November 1988.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Actions Inciting Unrest Viewed

NC2312203488 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 23 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The KOMMUNIST, BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, and KOMMUNIST in Armenian have published an article entitled "The [word indistinct] Interests of the People Must Be Served."

The article touches on matters related to activities aimed at increasing instability and weakening national justice, exploiting the Nagorno-Karabakh problem for ill-reputed intentions, and organizing unauthorized meetings. The article analyzes the results of the meetings held in Lenin Square and condemns forces which are opposed to reconstruction and which weaken national justice. It also justifies the (?resolute) stand against the incidents in the republic and against those responsible for the developments.

'Blackmarketeering' Incidents in Azerbaijan Cited

LD2312131188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] At work in Azerbaijan alongside that republic's law enforcement bodies is a special operations group of the main administration for struggle against the embezzlement of socialist property [UBKHSS] of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD]. Many cases of bribery, blackmarketeering, and embezzlement of socialist property have been discovered. Our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov asked the head of the group, a senior MVD official, Aslanbek Akhmedovich (Akhlakhamov) to comment:

[Fedorov] Aslanbek Akhmedovich, what sort of atmosphere made it possible for such serious crimes to be committed in the sphere of the socalled black economy?

[(Akhlakhamov)] This was possible because for a long period in Azerbaijan many of the leading posts were occupied by people without initiative, incompetent, accustomed to taking without giving anything in return, united by mutual back scratching and their striving for a rapid career ascent. Invested with power, living by a dual morality, and with ramified connections they enriched themselves at the expense of others. Until recently, in practice the style of work of certain ministries and departments was to replace businesslike relations with favors to friends. Servility flourished everywhere. Instead of wise engineering calculations there was mercenariness and evasion of legal decisions. As a result other pernicious practice of doing favors for one another grew, as did cover-ups and nepotism. The presenting of false accounts and eyewash became the norm. The pursuit of gross output pushed into the background the qualitative aspects of economic growth. The disproportions in the national economy grew deeper and led to a considerable lagging behind in social and economic development.

At the same time, embezzlement, bribery, blackmarketeering, and other abuses became widespead on a massive scale. This is why, at the request of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, operational groups were sent to this republic and to neighboring Armenia by the MVD leadership. These groups, together with investigators from the USSR Procuracy, their colleagues from the republican MVD, and officials of other law enforcement bodies have conducted a resolute struggle against bribetakers, criminal groups of crooks and thieves, blackmarketeers, and their main protectors.

In a comparatively short period, and we have been working there for less than 4 months, we discovered a group of bribetakers operating in one of the large sections of the republic's road transportation ministry. The USSR Prucuracy arrested six officials of this association. These are people named (Aslanov), (Ibragimov), (Nabizade), and (Ismailov). Charges have been brought against them of extortion and taking particularly large bribes, about R100,000. (Kuliyev), chief eingeer of the Kirovabad passenger road transportation association, was caught red-handed taking bribes.

[Fedorov] Did your group discover any cases of bribetaking by militia personnel?

[(Akhlakhamov)] The purging of the militia ranks of unscrupulous and morally unstable people is underway. We detained for bribetaking (Amiroslanov), an investigator of (Nizuminskiy) Rayon of the City of Baku, and Masesov, divisional militia inspector of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. They were arrested.

During our work a group of crooks operating at the sporting goods association were charged and taken into custody. They acquired by all sorts of abuses a vast quantity of car and truck spare parts and other materials

in very short supply and sold them to state enterprises and private citizens for prices several times higher than their cost. The criminal activity of these persons was accompanied by bribery and embezzlement on a particulary large scale. Their crimes covered a considerable number of towns.

[Fedorov] It is no secret that in the trans-Caucasian republics and in Azerbaijan in particular, which I have visited, blackmarketeering in just about everything is rampant. What has been done by your group to combat this rather widespread type of crime?

[(Akhlakhamov)] Yes, this problem does exist in Azerbaijan and is rather an acute problem. The republic's internal affairs bodies have not lost sight of this problem. Here are a few examples: 117 blackmarket articles worth R29,000 were confiscated from blackmarketeer Salakhov; R40,000 worth were confiscated from Ivazov; imported car parts worth R50,000 from Golustyan. Blackmarketeers detained in the town of Kirovabad had brought from Moscow in the past 3 months three refrigerated trucks for resale; 10 sets of funiture in short supply; 53 boxes, each containing 25 kg of butter, 40 cases of cigarettes; 1,150 bottles of Zolotoye Koltso, Moskovskaya and Russkaya brand vodka; 6,600 kg of imported confectionery; three tonnes of imported biscuits; 100 kg of spices; Japanese radios; Italian tiles and so on—the list could continue—to a value of over R100,000.

The blackmarketeers had bought these goods in Moscow where they have well- organized conspiratorial criminal links at a number of trade enterprises. This opens up a large area of work for the capital's UBKHSS officials and the Main Administration for Trade. I think that it is worthwhile not just to give this some thought but also to get to the bottom of how it is possible for blackmarketeers to have immediate receipt of several imported sets of furniture which Muscovites are unable to buy for a long period of time even after applying in writing. The picture is the same with other domestic consumer goods, industrial goods, and foods.

[Fedorov] (Aslanbek Akhmedovich), at present it is fashionable to talk about a Mafia. But this thought inevitably springs to mind: Having heard all that you have said one really can suppose and one can say that there is a highly secret and highly organized criminal network with well-developed inter-regional links operating.

[(Akhlakhamov)] Yes, here we clearly have all the components of organized crime.

[Fedorov] How widespread is a crime like embezzlement of socialist property in Azerbaijan?

[(Akhlakhamov)] Alongside blackmarketeering, this type of crime is very widespread in the republic and is a serious problem. We are tackling this problem together with our local colleagues. Here are just a few of the latest examples: the chief accountant and the manager of a shop of the fruit and vegetable bureau of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon of Baku have been charged with misappropriating R60,000. Embezzlement on a particularly large scale was discovered at the No 2 interrayon mobile mechanized column of the Spetsagropromstroy of the republic's state agricultural committee. There was an organized criminal group of officials operating in this organization. They registered so-called dead souls, made double payments of wages, made out documents and warrants for fictitious payments, and thus stole over R600,000 in money and R230,000 worth of building materials in very short supply.

In conclusion I would like to say that I have cited these facts in order to show that in spite of opposition from people who are in a fearful panic over the revealing wind of transformations, the struggle will be waged mercilessly against the criminal clans undermining the economic potential of the republic. And we are spurred on here by the all-round support and approval of the working people of Azerbaijan.

[Fedorov] And now my very last question, (Aslanbek Akhmedovich). You have just returned from there. How do you feel—is the situation in the republic, in Azerbaijan, stabilizing from an operational point of view. Has it become better and cleaner and more just?

[(Akhlakhamov)] Yes, the situation is gradually stabilizing. An uncompromising struggle is being waged against those who are trying to promote the deportation of the population, who incite the people to disorder, spread rumors and whip up interethnic hostility. An increasing number of people who left Azerbaijan are returning to their homes. At the present time about 3,000 Armenians have returned. They have all begun working in their work collectives.

Azerbaijan Scientific, Technical Conference

NC2912102988 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 24 Dec 88

[Text] The republic-level scientific and technical conference has discussed ways and methods to increase the pace of scientific and technical development and improve the technical level, [word indistinct], and quality of the consumer goods manufactured by Azerbaijan SSR's electrotechnical establishments. About 400 experts, planning officials, and [word indistinct] from the field scientific research organizations and planning departments and establishments participated in the conference.

The participants discussed in detail problems related to producing consumer goods and improving their quality in light of advanced technology, service systems in firms, and competitiveness of the new electrical equipment used for livelihood services. The participants acquainted with the production of [word indistinct], visited the

specially organized exhibition of consumer goods, and held talks with the scientific and technical aktivs of the provincial party organization affiliated with the Baku [word indistinct] union.

Sumgait Gorkom Elects New Officials

NC2312203588 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 23 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY reports on the conference held by the Sumgait City party organization. Suleyman Tatliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, addressed the convocation.

The Sumgait Gorkom held a plenum and elected Gadzhiyev as the first secretary of the Sumgait Gorkom, Aleksandrov as the second secretary, and Ismaylov as the secretary.

Solovyev Addresses Leningrad Oblast Conference

LD2312212588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Dec 88

[Text] The 28th conference of the Leningrad Oblast party organization started its work today. Here is a report from our correspondents:

[Unidentified correspondent] To act more energetically and more resolutely—perhaps these words can convey the mood of the delegates who gathered within the historic walls of the Tauride Palace. Both the television relay of the conference and the live phone-in telephones in the press bureau, where party and local soviet workers answered the questions of Leningraders in the intervals, are evidence of increasing democratization.

Enhancement of the vanguard role of Communists during restructuring and the tasks of the oblast party organization in carrying out the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference were considered comprehensively in the report delivered by Comrade Solovyev. He said, in particular:

[Begin recording] In beginning work which is unprecedented in its scale and its complexity, the party assumed gigantic responsibility for the fate of the country and the fate of socialism. This predetermines the character of the tasks facintg all of the party's links. The insistent need for the priority restructuring of the activities of each primary party organization and each Communist is coming to the fore.

An important role in implementing this line was played by the Central Committee's decision on the work of the Vyborgskiy Raykom in the city of Leningrad. In light of the demands of this principled document the obkom bureau examined reports from a number of gorkoms and raykoms. This had a positive effect on their activities, on intensifying party influence on the solution of economic and social tasks.

The resolute renunciation of willful administrative methods and a political leadership of the primary party links that focuses on specifics characterize to an ever greater extent the activities of the Vasiliyeostrovskiy, Moskovskiy, Nevskiy, and Lomonosovskiy raykoms and the Vyborg and Volkhov gorkoms. However, this approach and style has by no means become the norm everywhere. It is not fortuitous that many party organizations have sharply criticized their elected bodies during the report-back and election campaign, acknowledging that the work of a number of them is unsatisfactory. The composition of gorkoms and raykoms has been renewed by more than 50 percent. During the period of preparations for the report-back and election conference one out of five secretaries of CPSU gorkoms and raykoms has been replaced. From these facts, comrades, immediate conclusions should be drawn. The fact is that Communists and the working people are more and more exactingly appraising the real results of restructuring and the work of party cadres. This tendency will obviously be supported in every way and developed by the newly elected obkom.

However, one cannot fail to see something else. In some party organizations all the concerns and all the responsibility for the state of affairs in collectives are usually placed on the party committees and bureaus. In this connection a considerable proportion of party members—one out of six in the oblast organization—are still passive and not involved in practical work. The serious concern of Communists over this state of affairs turned into sharp criticism which was justifiably expressed against the elected bodies at all levels during the preparations for the all-union party conference.

Consistent broadening of the rights, powers, and responsibility of the primary organizations and freeing them from petty surveillance does not of course mean removing from CPSU gorkoms and raykoms their function of ensuring the operation of the political leadership of party organizations. This function has been and remains their main one. [end recording]

Baklanov Addresses Sverdlovsk Party Conference

LD2312232888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The oblast party report-back and election conference has opened in Sverdlovsk.

[Correspondent E. Epkomayshvili] The critical and constructive mood of conference delegates enables the conclusion to be drawn that restructuring is underway and gaining strength. At the same time, the report by (Babykin), first secretary of the party obkom, and the speeches by Communists noted that despite the positive moves, no definitive qualitative changes have been achieved either in a number of key areas of the economy or in the social sphere. The unsatisfactory ecological

situation in the oblast remains a most urgent issue. Profound changes have not affected many party organizations, when the party committees are showing a lack of resolution in the struggle with the old and obsolete, and are mastering new forms and methods of party work only slowly. Comrade Baklanov spoke at the conference. He said, in part:

[Begin Baklanov recording] What is most important at present is the implementation of two of the most important reforms—in politics and in the economy. Conducting this work is subordinate to a single objective: rousing all our people to restructure, and striving to make the implementation of all the transformations and plans drafted by the party the vital concern of each Soviet person. The period of stagnation developed the conviction that we are, (?as it were) protected, the state will protect us and help us, in general do everything for us. The habit of passing the buck led to the spread of social indifference. In this way, whether we liked it or not, we cultivated a social mentality of living at others' expense. Many grew used to the idea that other people's inadequacies and blunders lifted responsibility from them for their own inability, sluggishness, and unscrupulousness.

Another danger also arose. Many people formed the impression that all the forthcoming changes will take place only under a plus sign, only in a positive direction. Impatience (?is growing). A considerable number of people proved to be unprepared for the inevitable difficulties, without which no revolutionary transformation occurs. Capital repairs have been started in our common home, and for a certain period it will be necessary to put up with the inconveniences. [end recording]

[Epkomayshvili] Concentrating on the place and role of the defense complex in tackling tasks of the national economy, Comrade Baklanov went on to say:

[Begin Baklanov recording] It is already possible to say that the defense complex's scientific and production potential is starting to work soundly on increasing consumer goods production, as well as production of the latest equipment for light industry, and on the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex. You are aware that with the aim of accelerating dealing with these most important tasks, all enterprises of the former USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances have been handed over to the defense sectors. In Sverdlovsk oblast alone, before the end of the 5-year plan, equipment for the light and food industries and for processing agricultural produce should be produced worth about R50 million. I have to say, however, that this figure is a very small one for you. For, in total, the defense sectors have assumed R47 billion in bulk for this area. Evidently, you are still in arrears here and this will have to be examined. [end recording] [video shows delegates and Baklanov at the rostrum, cutting to shots of the audience]

Shcherbitskiy Addresses Kiev Gorkom Conference

PM2812141388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 3-4

[TASS report under the rubric "At the Party Conferences": "Specific Deeds and Actions for Restructuring"]

[Text] Kiev, 24 Dec—How to accelerate the pace of renewal, eliminate obstacles in the path of restructuring, and effectively ensure the vanguard role of Communists—these were the questions on which the Kiev party gorkom's report-and-election conference focused its attention. Delegates appraised achievements from positions of criticism and self-criticism, in an exacting and principled fashion, resolutely exposed shortcomings, and mapped out measures to achieve specific results in the implementation of the 27th congress and 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the conference's work.

The report by K.I. Masik, first secretary of Kiev party gorkom, noted that the deepening of the revolutionary changes launched in the country at the party's initiative is perceived by Kiev's residents as their vital cause. Political awareness and a sense of personal responsibility for fulfilling the tasks of restructuring are growing among the city's Communists. At the same time, by no means all of the city party organization's 237,000 members demonstrate in practice their commitment to the ideas of genuine socialist renewal. One of the party gorkom's most important tasks is to boost the militancy of party organizations and to ensure that every party member makes his own contribution to restructuring by means of specific deeds and actions. This must be the objective of the quest for new approaches to the performance of organizational, ideological, and cadre work.

The conference was addressed by N.V. Kalyuzhnyy, leader of a team of troubleshooters at the "Mayak" Science and Production Association; B.V. Soldatenko, first secretary of Kiev's Leningradskiy Party Raykom; V.V. Skopenko, rector of Kiev's T.G. Shevchenko University; S.I. Korneva, director of the "Kievlyanka" knitwear experimental base factory; writer B.I. Oleynik, and others, who emphasized that the city party organization has created prerequisites for the decisive shift of all its activity into the channel of practical deeds. It is necessary to develop democracy and glasnost to the utmost and to wage an active struggle for the rallying of all forces—Communists and nonparty people, all labor collectives in the city, public organizations, and unsponsored formations—around the ideas and tasks of restructuring. It was pointed out that the voice of the decisive force of renewal—the working class—must be heard with all its force in the struggle to assert the principles of renewal.

The conference raised problems concerning the city's economic development and especially its social infrastructure. It was emphasized, moreover, that the separation of the functions of party and state organs does not mean that the gorkom and local party organs relinquish all responsibility for the state of affairs in the national economy. On the contrary, party influence in this most important area must be intensified, but not by means of edicts and pressure methods or the supplanting of soviet and economic organs.

Participants in the conference expressed confidence that Kiev's Communists, having embarked upon the action stage, will set an example of Bolshevik passion and dedication to the revolutionary renewal of society.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy addressed the conference participants. We are living through a complex and extremely crucial period, he said. As M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in his report to the recent USSR Supreme Soviet session, work and the organization of life in the new fashion are now coming to the fore. Who else if not the capital's party organization, with its mighty intellectual, cadre, and economic potential, should set the tone in the renewal of all spheres of the republic's life.

Appraising the party gorkom's activity during the period under review as a whole, we are fully justified in remarking that it is persistently performing multifaceted work to implement the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th all-union party conference decisions, and that matters are certainly progressing in the right direction.

Recently the party gorkom and its bureau and secretariat have been conducting a quest for new approaches to the solution of set tasks, have been striving to act in a creative fashion, have been relying more on the party raykoms, have not been issuing trivial regulations, and have been heeding grassroots opinions. At the same time, the attitude toward cadres has become more demanding. Secretaries and bureau members have more frequent meetings and conduct frank discussions with the party aktiv and Communists.

At the same time, the party gorkom has not yet managed to substantially enhance the efficiency of organizational work. Its officials still frequently backslide into administrative pressure methods and the supplanting of the activity of soviet and economic organs. This is largely attributable to the fact that the gorispolkom and its planning, economic, and management organs have still not fully taken over the functions which used to be performed by the abolished sector departments of the party gorkom.

At last year's gorkom plenum I had the opportunity to criticize the gorispolkom for excessive centralization as regards solving the questions of the city's vital services, which in essence deprived rayispolkoms of their rights. But there has been no substantial change in the situation. The gorispolkom is unwilling to share power, even though it simply cannot manage everything by itself. This must be thoroughly investigated, and there must be a correct distribution of powers and duties at the city and rayon levels.

The party gorkom's immediate task is to accelerate the process of organizing the apparatus of the party gorkom and raykoms and their commissions along the qualitatively new lines. To be faster in mastering political methods of leadership and the new approaches. To show more initiative as regards specific results from organizational and ideological work. The party apparatus must have more trained specialists, analysts, and good organizers. This is the kind of people who are still in short supply today.

It is necessary to further enhance the role of primary party organizations, to improve the selection and placement of cadres, to boost their responsibility for the work entrusted to them, and to increase each Communist's contribution to restructuring.

We cannot fail to be worried by the decline discernible here and there in admissions to the party, especially on the part of workers. It is not hard to notice what happens in party organizations which lose their prestige among working people. This is why it is important to ensure that every party organization really embraces one or several specific socially useful causes (like, for example, mechanization of labor-intensive processes, construction of a kindergarten, or reconstruction of a stadium) in which people are interested, and successfully resolves its task. In other words, do a proper job for people and they will properly appreciate it. It is here that we must demonstrate unity of words and deeds in practice instead of playing up to the masses, as unfortunately still happens at times.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the deepening process of democratization involves more and more strata of the population in active political life. It would, however, be incorrect not to notice that the development of this process is by no means simple. The public, and especially the artistic intelligentsia, is actively discussing in particular questions concerning the functioning of the Ukrainian language in various spheres of social life, the elimination of so-called "blank spots" in our historical legacy, the preservation of cultural monuments, retooling, and the rational utilization of natural resources. Of course, a differentiated approach is needed here. On the one hand we have, for example, unsponsored associations which correctly base their activity on these issues, even though they frequently fail to take into account the fact that their solution requires time, new technology, and major funding.

On the other hand, we have the few groupings which try to exploit glasnost and the public rostrum to propagandize alien ideas of national egoism and even anti-Sovietism. All this makes it incumbent upon party organizations to keep a firm hold on the political initiative in solving accumulated problems and to foresee the consequences of any decisions they take.

The Central Committee and party committees have formulated a consistent and clear-cut line on all these problems. We are profoundly convinced that the problems, no matter how acute, can and must be solved within the framework of restructuring by the methods of democratic discussion and the elaboration of coordinated positions. It is also extremely important to avoid fanning passions and emotional excesses, to maintain a constructive approach, and to channel people's activeness—including that of informal associations—into practical deeds. Under no circumstances should we allow our slogans of renewal to be exploited for the unseemly goals pursued by antisocial and antirestructuring elements.

Much has already been done in the republic as a whole, as well as in Kiev, to ensure the easing of tension in several, bluntly speaking, sore spots. When solving all questions we must proceed as before from the premise that the full blossoming of the republic, as well as of the other fraternal republics, is possible only on the basis of strengthening our united multinational state and the unity and friendship of our country's peoples. It is necessary to learn to conduct ideological and political work in conditions of democratization and glasnost as we go along, as it were. We must get close to people and work with them. We must persuade, convince, and explain. This applies especially to work with young people. Specifically, the problems of teenagers and the further development of socially important initiatives by Komsomol members and young people require constant study, summing up, and prompt practical solution. Lenin's demand to understand the masses, to be able to approach them and gain their absolute confidence, is extremely topical now.

Serious complaints were expressed at the conference about the party gorkom's ideological subdivisions. Indeed, restructuring is evidently dragging in this sector, even though a passive policy of wait-and-see is impermissible in this most important work today. Everyone here must act as the party's active political fighter for solving the practical tasks of restructuring. After all, people judge its progress by tangible changes in their daily life: Are there more products, clothes, and shoes in the stores, is their quality better, is it easier to get to see a physician, have housing and working conditions improved?

Over the last few years the party gorkom and raykoms and the soviet and economic organs have certainly given more attention to questions on which the social mood of Kiev's residents depends. But we all would like to see these positive changes become more tangible.

The speeches urgently raised the question of food supplies for Kiev's working people. It was noted that the city receives much assistance in this regard, and this engenders a certain mood of dependency. Quite often, the fruit and vegetable trade improves only after intervention by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. Insufficient use is made of existing opportunities to more fully satisfy foodstuffs requirements by developing sponsorship assistance to the countryside on a contractual basis, subsidiary farms, and truck gardening and orcharding partnerships, and by expanding cooperative trade. It is also necessary to step up practical assistance in the reconstruction of food industry enterprises. A shortage of nonfood group commodities can also be felt. There are many shortcomings in the work of trade enterprises, public catering, and consumer services. Direct responsibility for this rests with gorispolkom Chairman V.A. Zgurskiy and his deputies, but there was also no proper monitoring by the party gorkom and Second Secretary S.M. Martynyuk. Workers control could also have played its part here, but the city trade union council (L.N. Yakovleva) is very slow in getting things done.

It is impossible to overlook an acute problem like the provision of housing. The list of people waiting for allocation of state apartments was reduced—even if only slightly (by 2 percent, representing 3,600 families)—for the first time this year. But this is clearly insufficient. Furthermore, while housing construction plans were fulfilled, the steady pace of the commissioning of housing was disrupted. There are also numerous shortcomings in organizing the reconstruction of older housing stock. Questions concerning the provision of amenities around homes, leisure facilities, and the building of sports grounds are being resolved unsatisfactorily.

Let us look at another question. Back in the past, Kiev's residents responded to the slogan "All the best for the children!" It must be said that a lot got done. But efforts here are still uncoordinated and fail to provide a comprehensive solution to the task. Less than one-third of children's preschool institutions have sports halls and only 18 of them have swimming pools. It is obviously high time to create a modern children's park in Kiev which could become children's favorite playground and would help their all-around spiritual, intellectual, and physical development. There has already been talk about this, but nothing has been done.

We have read press reports about the tremendous and all-around assistance rendered to fraternal Armenia by the whole country, including the Ukrainian people, in overcoming the consequences of the natural disaster. This was yet another demonstration of the unity and friendship of our country's peoples, of their true internationalism. Now it is necessary to move on to the next stage—to repair all that was destroyed within 2 years. Our republic will have to carry out a great volume of construction work. This will demand mobilization of major forces—the best designers, construction workers, and technicians. We will have to somewhat reduce the volume of our own construction work, primarily on administrative and some production projects, so as not to harm the development of the social sphere.

It is clear that the solution of tasks in the social sphere and the enhancement of people's prosperity depend on the state of affairs in the economy. Summing up the

results of this year and the first 3 years of the 5-year plan period it must be said that the negative trends in the national economy of our own republic and of the country as a whole have been, in basic terms, overcome. And the important point is that this was achieved primarily through intensive factors. This is also confirmed by the state of affairs in the city's economy. Nevertheless, it is premature to think that radical changes have already been achieved here. Industrial enterprises systematically fail to meet their contractual obligations. This disorganizes the work of their partners and inflicts great harm on restructuring.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution on the gorkom's accountability report noted that Kiev's plants have surrendered the positions they had previously gained in terms of the quality and renewal of manufactured output. Unfortunately, this harsh conclusion is still valid to this day. It must be bluntly admitted that a proper struggle for the honor of the Kiev marque has yet to be launched.

We are entitled to expect party organizations to work more persistently also in the area of an intensified policy of thrift. The city's industry is still unable to cope with the task set by the 27th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress—to meet through economies 75-80 percent of the increased demand for resources.

It is perfectly clear that it is impossible to solve the questions of improving output quality and saving resources without accelerating scientific and technical progress. Over the last few years, however, much less attention has been given to these questions by the party gorkom bureau and primarily by gorkom Secretary N.N. Sergeyev, and also by party organizations at enterprises. Consequently, the city is not fulfilling the plans for the development of science and technology or meeting the targets for reducing the number of workers employed in manual labor.

The radical economic reform creates internal incentives which encourage enterprises and their labor collective councils to introduce the achievements of science and technology. But we cannot idly sit by and wait for the reform to automatically produce results. A key question of our development such as scientific and technical progress cannot be allowed to just drift along. It is necessary to step up work on consolidating the economic base of science and technology programs. For this purpose it is necessary to create the appropriate foundations and associations of enterprises to pool their funds and resources for the solution of common tasks.

I would especially like to mention the shaping of programs aimed at achieving a breakthrough in individual priority areas. For example, Kiev's scientists and production workers are right now capable of developing a series of products which can compete with foreign firms on the world market. The resources for this are at hand, and a certain headstart has already been achieved. The only element that is lacking is an organizational mechanism which would make it possible to solve such tasks more quickly.

If we were to put the question on a broader scale: What are the reasons why the opportunities inherent in the new system of economic management are being far from fully utilized, the answer would be unambiguous—primarily the fact that some economic cadres are not trained for this and are committed to the old methods of work.

But where are the party gorkom and raykoms? Why do they not promptly correct the economic managers? Evidently, many party committees still perceive their task as being only to make demands and issue instructions. These methods are obsolete now, and they must be resolutely rejected.

The main point now is to notice and support innovations, to make the best experience available to all. And the city does have such experience.

It must be admitted that responsibilty for the existing shortcomings, especially in the social sphere, rests not only with the city authorities but also with the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic government. As a rule, the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, the Gosplan, and the ministries and departments actively tackle the drafting of various plans and measures concerning the solution of many of the city's problems, but hardly bother about their practical implementation. Everyone must remember that the political stability and mood of the entire republic depend largely on the situation in the capital.

There could be far fewer shortcomings in our work if people everywhere, from top to bottom, were to learn lessons from the past and if we were to do more long-term work, looking more thoroughly and deeply into the future. This is especially important now, when the concept for the country's socioeconomic development through the year 2005 is being elaborated.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy said in conclusion:

The report-and-election campaign in the Ukraine's party organization is approaching its conclusion—more than 280,000 meetings and over 720 rayon, city, and oblast conferences have been held. An analysis of these meetings and of the entire course of the report-and-election campaign gives us grounds to assert that, following the 19th all-union party conference, Communists' activeness has increased, exactingness and businesslike efficiency have been enhanced, and an atmosphere of openness, free exchange of opinions, and criticism and self-criticism is being firmly established. The report-and-election campaign supplied vast material for drawing conclusions and drawing up measures making it possible to accelerate our advance.

Every Communist now must constantly affirm by deeds the clarity of his positions and his firmness in the implementation of the party line. This is the guarantee of successful advance, the guarantee of success for the entire cause of restructuring.

The conference elected a new Kiev party gorkom and Control and Auditing Commission.

V.I. Shimko, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department, took part in the conference's work.

A plenum of the Kiev Ukrainian Communist Party Gorkom was held 24 December and examined organizational questions. K.I. Masik was reelected first secretary of the party gorkom.

Pugo Addresses Tula Oblast Conference

LD2412214188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Dec 88

[Speech by Boris Pugo, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Commission, at a Tula Oblast conference; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Now, when the party has set out to fully revive democracy within the party, unity of action by Communists is more vital than ever before, unity which is not merely a show and which does not amount merely to raising hands and voting in concert. What we need is the unity of independently thinking people, strongly welded together by the bonds of party comradeship, linked together by common goals and tasks, and able to lead others. This is precisely why we have such a great need for an atmosphere of adherence to principles, openness, discussion, criticism, and self-criticism.

The democratization of party life demands the restructuring of our party's control work. This involves first and foremost securing for all Communists realistic opportunities to influence the party's activity. This will indeed fulfill one of Lenin's major requirements, in accordance with which all party organs and cadres must be monitored constantly by the party masses.

What can such monitoring yield? Firstly, it will allow the party to be better protected against hangers-on, and to avoid many mistakes in the selection and placing of personnel. And secondly, it will promote a strengthening of the bonds of party comradeship and an increase in the vigor and independence of Communists.

Khabarovsk Kraykom Holds Conference

LD2512095888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 25 Dec 88

[Text] Kray, oblast, and town party conferences have been under way in the country. Our correspondent reports that the conference of Communists has ended in Khabarovsk Kray. It mapped out the tasks of the Amur party organization aimed at improving the political leadership of restructuring public and economic life, strengthening the positions of glasnost, adherence to principles, and initiative. Conference delegates spoke with concern that the social sphere has not yet become a leading one in the kray and that many provisions of the comprehensive state program for developing the production forces of the far east have not been backed so far by concrete actions of ministries and departments. The elections of a new leadership and members of the CPSU kraykom became a lesson in democracy. Those Communists whose position does not correspond to the spirit of restructuring failed to get a vote of confidence. The secretariat of the Khabarovsk Kraykom was renewed by 80 percent.

*Kalinin Oblast Party Meeting on Reforms

WA18000277 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 16 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by correspondent Yu. Kurbatov: "Time for Practical Work: From the Kalinin Oblast Party Conference"; first three paragraphs are SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] **An emergency situation occurred the week before the Kalinin Oblast Party Organization Conference for hearing reports and holding elections. Eight new passenger cars, manufactured at the Kalinin Car Building Plant, jumped the tracks near Moscow at the Reutov-Zheleznodorozhnyy stage. According to the preliminary data, the accident was caused by defective air manifolds in three cars.**

The day before the oblast party conference, I visited the enterprise and talked to its managers and state acceptance representatives. Their opinion was unanimous: the enterprise collective was not at fault in the accident which had occurred. I will not try to prove otherwise. However, there can be no question that the Kalinin Car Building Association is in a difficult situation.

The enterprise already owes Gosbank and its suppliers 32 million rubles.

This, it seemed, was cause for the party obkom to seriously and comprehensively analyze the economic situation, to hold a principle-minded discussion on why the new economic mechanism is being mastered slowly and why the economic reform in the oblast's largest enterprise is spinning its wheels. However, no place was found for such an analysis in the report given at the conference by N. Tatarchuk, CPSU obkom first secretary.

Evidently, the main cause of failure should be sought in the leadership's planning and methods, which are all still command-arbitrary for the time being. For 1989, the plant was assigned a plan which significantly exceeds its capacity. This is given the fact that the plant's insufficient space, poor production mechanization and obsolete assembly technology are well known. However, the funds allocated for technical

retooling and reconstruction are being used in practice to patch numerous holes. The consequences are a disruption of contractual deliveries and failure to fulfill the plant's socio-economic development program, which, incidentally, was approved by the party obkom and the ministry.

Judging by figures cited in the report, 788 million rubles were used in the current 5-year period for the technical retooling and reconstruction of already-existing industries in the oblast, but the effectiveness of these investments was 70 million rubles—less than 10 kopecks per ruble of outlay.

It is no accident that the speech at the conference by G. Brausova, a weaver and party group organizer from the Vyshniy Volochek Cotton Combine, was full of urgent alarm. She said that social problems are being solved slowly and fulfillment of the housing program is being threatened. Purely technical problems are accumulating on top of everyday problems. As before, departmental production at the combine is lagging. This situation exists not only at Vyshniy Volochek, but also, for example, at the Kalinin Worsted Combine.

Consolidation in the service area at the combine constitutes 160-200 percent for the already exaggerated sectorial. A young person coming to work at the enterprise is in no condition to work at such a exhausting pace. Indeed, there is also no incentive for this: people have been waiting in line for housing for over 15 years.

Comparing these facts, one asks: how effective have the "Intensifikatsiya-90" program and the regional socio-economic development plans, worked out by the obkom, turned out to be?

No one can say that these problems were not reflected in the obkom's report. It appeared to be fully in the spirit of the times. For instance, economic questions "left" their customary first place, having allowed the problems of intra-party life and work with cadres to go ahead. However, the purely external changes did not affect the contents. As before, they relied not on life and man, but on general directives.

One cannot say that there was no criticism and self-criticism in the report. However, to put it bluntly, it was rounded and almost accusative. Therefore, evidently, the speech by Yu. Boshnyak, general director of the joint Historical-Architectural and Literary Museum, evoked such a stormy reaction from the hall. He declared directly that the party obkom has no clear strategy for agricultural development and that P. Smirnov, obkom secretary and, previously, a powerful leader of one of the farms, is not doing his job. Several delegates spoke in the secretary's defense. However, Yu. Boshnyak was, evidently, also somewhat correct: it was no accident that 31 members of the newly staffed obkom voted against re-electing P. Smirnov as secretary.

The conference speakers raised many urgent questions. For example, G. Brausova spoke of a drop in the reception of workers by the party and the fact that the number of those who have been expelled or have quit has increased. Last year, 9 people in Kalinin's Tsentralnyy Rayon turned in their party cards, and this year—24 people. A. Galnev, an electric welder at the "Tsentrosvar" Plant, talked about this at the Kalinin City Party Conference as well. He noted that not only people who are useless to the party, but also good and necessary people are leaving. The report only verified this: during the reporting period, 3,327 people in the oblast party organization were expelled from the CPSU, one-third of whom were expelled for drunkenness and hooliganism, and 500—for violation of party, state and labor discipline. What became of the other 1,500 communists?

To some extent, a survey conducted in the ranks of party organizations in the Kalinin CPSU Gorkom answers this question. It indicated that a radical turnaround has not occurred in the work of basic party units. Forty percent of those surveyed noted that the role of the party organization and buro in solving imminent problems in the collectives is still low.

The obkom report also gave the following figure: the work of 113 party group organizers and shop party organization secretaries was deemed unsatisfactory. What was the reason for such a severe evaluation by the communists of the work of their own elective agencies? Unfortunately, the conference delegates received no answer to this question as well.

After all, it was not superfluous, for example, to remember that work by the party committee at the Kalinin Railroad Junction, one of the oblast's large party organizations, was evaluated as unsatisfactory. The situation here should have sounded the alarm in the party obkom a long time ago. Here are the specific facts. M. Shishkevich, Kalinin station chief, was expelled from the party and removed from his post for drunkenness on the job. The communists in the track division voiced their distrust of its chief, A. Zaytsev. Due to a reluctance to take the communists' opinions into account, V. Popov, locomotive depot party organization secretary, was not recommended for the party buro staff. The work of two shop party organization buros was deemed unsatisfactory.

The obkom buro and secretariat studied the work of 32 CPSU gorkoms and raykoms over the reporting period. A number of party committees were reinforced with initiative-minded, trained cadres. For example, the obkom buro deemed the work of the Selizharovskiy CPSU Raykom on the leadership of restructuring unsatisfactory. All of the secretaries of this party committee were subsequently re-elected by the raykom plenum. In all, over 3 years the membership of raykom secretaries has been renewed by 66 percent, and that of city and rayon ispolkom chairmen—by 80 percent.

How justified is such turnover? The obkom report self-critically stated that it has still not succeeded in creating a thought-out, well-built, contemporary system for cadre selection, promotion and training. Rashness, superficiality and a survey approach to solving cadre problems still have not been totally eradicated, and the practical, political and moral qualities of employees are not being studied in sufficient depth.

There is much evidence of this. For example, the following figures were cited at the conference: over the past and present year, 220 leaders have been expelled from the party, party penalties were levied against 419, and nine leading officials were held criminally responsible. In these years, 167 officials in the party committee nomenclature were released for not handling the job, 152 were released for having compromised themselves, and 83 were expelled from the party.

What is the reason for such serious shortcomings in cadre policy? There is no simple answer. However, this must be answered. With difficulty, oblast party organization veterans recalled the last time that they had seen one of their own, local, Tver citizens hold the post of party obkom first secretary. It was brought to light: more than 40 years ago. In all the subsequent years, cadres for the primary post were sought throughout the country, as far as Sakhalin. At the same time, our own stepped, so to speak, aside. Each of the newly arrived, albeit trained, people began working in a new way, his way, as a measure of his own knowledge and experience. There was no continuity of leadership or traditions, which, in accumulating the experience of past years, would have formed a foundation for further movement forward.

The current obkom first secretary came to the oblast along with restructuring, and with him came years of difficult tests. Not everyone with whom he began withstood the test of time and work. It is no accident that almost two-thirds of the former staff of the obkom has now been renewed. Far from everything has been done. Indeed, the path itself to cardinal changes has turned out to be more difficult than it seemed to be 3 years ago. The conference clearly indicated this. It indicated something else as well—the aspiration of the oblast's communists to overcome the soiled goods of the past, to move out to qualitatively new limits.

N. Tatarchuk was again elected CPSU obkom first secretary at the organizational plenum which was held.

Zaykov, Razumovskiy Visit Zhdanovskiy Rayon
PM2812122588 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 88 p 1

[TASS correspondent B. Shestakov report: "Stress on the Vigor and Purposefulness of Actions"]

[Excerpts] Care in preparation and the democratic discussion of draft resolutions and candidacies for leading organs are two of the multitude of new factors which characterize the present report and election campaign in the capital's party organization. Thanks to this, the meetings and conferences at all levels are becoming a genuine forum for Communists and a tribune for a profound and exacting discussion of the practical tasks of restructuring.

The progress of the report and election campaign and questions of the implementation of the economic reform and acceleration of scientific and technical progress were at the center of attention on 19 December, when a number of labor collectives in Moscow's Zhdanovskiy Rayon were visited by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and by G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. [passage omitted]

L.N. Zaykov and G.P. Razumovskiy were accompanied by O.G. Anfimov, USSR minister of the Electrical Equipment Industry, N.V. Lemayev, USSR minister of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, I.M. Golovkov, deputy chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom, and V.A. Korovin, chief of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Socioeconomic Department.

Biryukova Tours Moscow Enterprises 16 Dec
PM2812120588 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 p 2

[TASS report: "Meetings in Labor Collectives"]

[Text] On 16 December A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, visited the "Moskva" Furniture Production Association and the V.P. Nogin Hosiery Factory in Moscow's Kirovskiy Rayon.

During the meetings with workers, specialists, and economic leaders a detailed discussion took place about ways to increase production, improve the quality, and broaden the range of products being produced by the enterprises, the demand for which is currently not being adequately satisfied. It was stressed that keeping the market for consumer goods fully supplied is a task of paramount economic and social significance, the solution of which demands the full mobilization of all reserves.

Considerable attention was devoted to the more skillful use of the potential of the new economic mechanism, and to the renewal of production's material-technical base through the retooling of enterprises.

A.P. Biryukova drew the attention of the party and trade union organizations, and of the managers of the enterprises, to the need to devote themselves more energetically to tackling questions of social development, including labor, relaxation, and the improvement of housing conditions.

PRAVDA Describes Pskov Obkom Leader's Removal
PM2312091188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent V. Vorobyev report: "Bread Is Bitter With Another's Butter. Notes from Pskov Oblast Party Conference"]

[Text] Pskov—Pskov party obkom has recently become accustomed to speaking contentedly of a "slight advance" in agricultural production. This phrase also turned up in the conference report delivered by Yu. Pogorelov, first secretary of the CPSU obkom. As always, his speech from the rostrum was confident and calm. Nothing seemed to presage the explosion of passions and the sudden denouement... It is true, the main speaker pointed out, that gross production in the countryside is falling despite huge capital investments. But this trend was also discernible in the past. Thus the dairy herd on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and private plots has diminished—hence the loss of almost 50,000 tonnes of milk annually. And the oblast still holds one of the bottom places in the country in terms of per capita meat consumption.

In reporting these facts Yu. Pogorelov obviously did not even suspect the way they contradict the conclusion regarding a "slight advance." And so he went on reading the obkom report in the usual manner:

"More than 123,000 hectares of agricultural land has gone out of circulation in the space of 10 years." The process of the "flushing out" of the able-bodied population from the villages is continuing. The number of people working here has fallen by 10,500 over 3 years, and there is now a shortage of more than 15,000 working people in the fields and livestock units. And yet it is people who bring the land alive...

Going on to point out for the sake of self-criticism that "agricultural laggardness in the oblast has assumed a chronic nature," the main speaker, as is customary, discussed the fact that during the period under review questions of improving the work of the agro-industrial complex "were constantly at the center of the attention of the party obkom and its bureau... Programs connected with training cadres, getting them to stay in the countryside, introducing new management methods, and carrying out the social reorganization of the countryside were approved."

However, to Yu. Pogorelov's great surprise, the discussion of the report turned in the direction of unvarnished reality. The speakers at once emphasized the groundlessness of the hopes of certain obkom workers who seriously believe that the essence of party leadership consists in holding endless conferences and hours-long bureau sessions and preparing questions for plenums. Papers will not improve life, and there will be no increase in either milk or meat.

As Yu. Vasyutskiy, first secretary of Strugo-Krasnenskiy Raykom, said, these "conferences" all go the same way. Your opinion of them is essentially of interest to no one, the speaker remarked, because "the decision has been made" in advance. For example, raykom first secretaries were brought together from all over the oblast to be consulted about state orders for agricultural produce next year. But it turned out that all the targets had already been "passed down" to the rayons. The conference participants said: The obkom frequently has brushed urgent problems aside, explaining that the obkom is a political organ. But is a well-organized economy not the very best policy?

So it turns out that in the sphere of agricultural production there is not a single program that has been successfully fulfilled. The main speaker worthily reported, for example, on 8,300 apartments constructed in the countryside over 3 years. Although in this very same hall a program had been adopted several years ago, from which it followed that 10 apartments had to be constructed on every farm every year. Consequently, more than 10,000 apartments should have been commissioned on 350 kolkhozes and sovkhozes over 3 years. Where is the "advance" here?

Pskov people put considerable effort into getting funds and quotas for the construction of important projects in the countryside. Nevertheless, the quotas are not assimilated in full, and this finds expression in protracted construction times and millions of "frozen" rubles. And this when there is a very acute scarcity of materials.

The atmosphere at the conference was becoming inflamed. The speakers were speaking increasingly frankly, and the discussion began to get down to brass tacks, as it were. A pluralism of opinions came to light, and different viewpoints became clear. In short, Pskov Oblast Communists, by all accounts, are fed up with the game of words alone. G. Ivanova, economist of the "Runo" Sovkhoz, bitterly reported that the aid program for 100 laggard farms adopted by the obkom has now been forgotten.

And here is the opinion of I. Bobylev, director of the "Pskovskiy" Sovkhoz:

"I cannot regard the Obkom Agrarian Policy Department's work as satisfactory. In the present situation Ye. Yuganov, second secretary in charge of agriculture, and First Secretary Yu. Pogorelov must ponder whether they can continue to carry out the duties entrusted to them."

"I find it hard to say anything about the obkom first secretary," V. Yakovlev, first secretary of Loknyanskiy Raykom, said in his speech. "He has not once visited our rayon during the 18 months that he has worked in the oblast. We have only once spoken with him by telephone..."

I heard many grievances during the breaks too. People said: Yu. Pogorelov came to a party meeting on the "Rossiya" Kolkhoz. And he did not even look around the farm or meet with ordinary working people. In general, he established "contact" with them from the rostrum. N. Kharlamov, a diesel engineer at Dno Station, said the same thing at the conference.

Nonetheless, one of the speakers tried somehow to soften the criticism of Yu. Pogorelov by declaring that city folk link the recent abolition of butter coupons in Pskov directly with the obkom first secretary's name. They say that life improved when he arrived. But Oblispolkom Chairman V. Pushkarev dispelled that delusion: The people of Pskov, it turns out, are eating bread...with someone else's butter. Such bread is bitter.

"The oblast, like other parts of the country, is increasingly going over to self-sufficiency with regard to many foodstuffs," the oblispolkom chairman said. "Unfortunately, we are not ready for this. So the government allocated us 1,500 tonnes of butter."

It really is time to do away with freeloading. People should be ashamed to live at others' expense—particularly under conditions of the economic reform. However, believing that the conference delegates would properly evaluate his efforts, Yu. Pogorelov reported in his concluding speech: Last year 5,000 tonnes of meat was allocated from state stocks—otherwise there would have been nothing to "barter" for coupons. This year it was butter. A reduction in state deliveries was secured. We too show concern for the needs of Pskov people, he said.

This line—plainly oriented toward freeloading—did not meet with support from the delegates. What is more, it probably sealed Yu. Pogorelov's fate.

There is no denying that the Non-Chernozem Zone needs state aid. And it is being given aid in accordance with adopted resolutions. However, we must not contantly count on all sorts of subsidies but work in a new way ourselves and become strong masters. People will no longer be content with someone else's butter. After all, it is humiliating to receive such aid, the delegates reflected. Particularly for a district which has produced meat and milk from time immemorial.

Work must be organized properly, the delegates demanded. Of course, Yu. Pogorelov alone is not to blame for the shortcomings and omissions noted. The obkom bureau members, its other leaders, and all the Communists of the party organization also bear a full measure of responsibility for the failures that have occurred in the oblast's socioeconomic development. Without absolving themselves of any of the blame, the party conference delegates still decided: No, the present leader will not manage to rally party members for great work or change the complex situation for the better. I believe that under the conditions of democratization such a decision is certainly not an extraordinary occurrence but a perfectly normal phenomenon.

And this is what happened next.

In the obkom elections Yu. Pogorelov only just got the necessary number of votes (350 "for," 338 "against"). Despite this, Yu. Pogorelov was once again nominated on the list for a secret ballot at the organizational plenum.

The following question was asked in keeping with tradition:

"Are there any more nominations?"

Usually in such cases someone would say: "No." Then there would be the brief procedure of an open ballot with a result known in advance. But this time the ballot was secret, and much had changed. Suddenly this was heard in response to the traditional question:

"We propose nominating Aleksey Nikolayevich Ilin, obkom secretary for ideology."

This was not provided for in the "scenario." Caught unawares, A. Ilin requested leave to refuse. Three times there was a vote on whether or not to meet his request. It was not met! Two candidacies were entered on the list for a secret ballot. The result was that Yu. Pogorelov received just 18 votes "for" and 99 "against." And 99 people voted for A. Ilin, 18 against.

Yuriy Nikolayevich Pogorelov was coopted onto Pskov Obkom 18 months ago and was unanimously elected first secretary. I attended that plenum. People pinned great hopes for an improvement in matters on his arrival. But now the new obkom has denied him the leadership by an overwhelming majority. If you think about it, war has been declared on a dilapidated style and on unsuitable approaches in work with cadres.

A harsh lesson.

*Official Findings on 30 Oct Minsk Demonstration

WA18000291 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 15 Nov 88 p 3

[Report from BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium commission: "The Commission's Conclusions: On the Results of Work by a BSSR Supreme Soviet Commission"]

[Text] On 4 November 1988 a resolution by the BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium established a commission to examine citizens' petitions in connection with the banning and termination of a rally on 30 October in the city

of Minsk. The commission was comprised of BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium members N. I. Rosh, secretary of the BSSR Trade Union Council and P. Ye. Panchenko, people's poet of Belorussia, BSSR Supreme Soviet deputies N. S. Gilevich, first secretary of the board of the republic Writers' Union, I. M. Luchenok, chairman of the board of the Composers' Union, A. A. Zdanovich, Supreme Court chairman, V. S. Karavay, BSSR minister of justice, A. Ye. Andreyev, chairman of the republic Council of War and Labor Veterans, and others.

Commission members heard explanations from the heads of Minsk soviet and administrative organs as well as from individuals involved with the organization of the rally.

It was established that on 3 October authorized representatives from the Tuteyshyya Association requested that Tsentralnyy Rayispolkom grant permission for a rally to be held at Yanka Kupala Park, supposedly in commemoration of the ancient folk custom "Dzyady." The ispolkom refused, justifying its decision on the basis that on that same date the rayon intended to hold Brest Oblast Days as part of the 3rd All-Union Folk Arts Festival. The initiators of the rally received similar refusals, with explanations, from the Sovetskiy and Pervomayskiy rayispolkoms and the Minsk Gorispolkom. Their applications for permission were considered within the legally-established time limit.

Lacking experience with the application of legislation regulating the holding of rallies, the ispolkoms failed to conduct adequate explanatory work with the petitioners. In this connection the commission drew the attention of the ispolkom heads to their formalistic approach to consideration of petitions. By refusing to permit the rally to be held the ispolkoms did not utilize their legal right to change the location and time of the event and report this to the organizers.

However, the commission also notes that the organizers did not, after being informed of the refusal officially and in a timely manner, take steps to prevent the rally from being held; on the contrary, they continued to make active preparations for it. Therefore they too bear responsibility for the confrontation with authorities that resulted. Documentary evidence in the commission's possession (banners, handbills, symbols, appeals, etc.) confirm that in spite of their official statements some of the rally's organizers intended to utilize it to achieve goals that had nothing to do with a ritual in remembrance of our ancestors.

Internal affairs organs, after receiving notice that the rally had been forbidden and that plans were still being made to hold it, took steps to prevent possible excesses and preserve public order in places where people might gather. The republic procuracy did not find any of the measures taken by the militia to be in violation of the law. This was also confirmed by a majority of the eyewitnesses. Procuracy organs received no complaints against officers of internal affairs organs.

The commission feels that the incident could have been avoided if the Minsk's soviet organs had thought through and carried out in advance measures of a preventive nature that would have eliminated the possibility of a tense situation, and if the organizers of the rally had not concealed their true intentions and shown proper respect for the law.

The matter of establishing a Day of Memory and a ritual for the conducting of it, as has already been done in other oblasts and cities of our republic, should be resolved as quickly as possible with public participation.

The commission recommends that soviet organs empowered to resolve matters pertaining to the organization and conducting of meetings, parades and demonstrations ensure that their consideration of these matters be characterized by a maximum of democratic principles and glasnost. It is also essential that meetings be held between the heads of soviet organs and the representatives of public organizations which submit a petition in the event that such request is denied.

*BSSR Officials Said Impeding Journalists' Work

WA18000287 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by V. Roshchin, delegate to the 29th Minsk City Party Conference, secretary of the party organization of the BSSR Journalists Union, Minsk: "When Will Openness Set In?"]

[Text] Unfortunately the city party committee either was unable or felt it unnecessary to acquaint us, the conference delegates—not to mention all of Minsk's Communists—with the main points of the accountability report ahead of time. To be honest this was not what we expected, because it seemed that following the 27th party congress and the 19th all-union party conference, preliminary familiarization with documents and their extensive discussion had become customary. But as it turns out, it has not.

On the way to our conference I asked myself: What troubles me the most? I live and work in a fabulously built city, one which visitors speak well of, one in which food availability and public services are generally not bad, and in which people have a reputation of being industrious and receptive. Much has also been done here to solve social problems. All of this is so. But there are also painful problems.

Industry, transportation and other sectors are generally working successfully in Minsk. It would seem that a stable, calm situation had established itself here. Then

suddenly the events of 30 October shattered the stillness like a bomb. That was over a month ago, but passions centering on it have not yet died down.

What happened? Public action groups in Minsk requested permission for what would appear to be a politically harmless meeting—a memorial gathering in behalf of fellow countrymen, including victims of Stalinist repression. The city executive committee denied the request, reporting this to the public by way of the VECHERNIY MINSK. But the magnetic field about the meeting increased—will it be held after all, or will it not? And so the city fathers took out some insurance for themselves. Reinforced by militia detachments, let me say quite frankly that they chased the crowd away. In my opinion only the militia demonstrated strength in this incident. And the city authorities, including party members, demonstrated weakness.

Referring to the meeting in his report, city party committee first secretary V. Galko reproached the newspapers for interpreting the events of that unfortunate Sunday in different ways, from opposite points of view: According to him, "what we ended up with was a verbal fruit salad." Persons speaking in the debates chastised this discord in the press as well. But let's analyze things: Was it really the press's fault?

For almost a week the city heard nothing but rumors. Then angry articles by witnesses—writers and journalists—appeared in two republic newspapers. The union press spoke out soon after that as well.

It was not until half a month later, after a special government commission did its work, that an official interpretation of the events of 30 October at Moscow Cemetery appeared. It was dictated to the newspapers "from above," and it was published as an editorial. The next day bewildered readers asked: Whom are we to believe? Could it really be that witnesses lied (though things like that do happen)? The talk after that was that the tap had been opened, but the water was not allowed to flow.

Forgive me for speaking coarsely, but the city's ideological personnel simply fell asleep at the wheel when it came to dealing with the meeting, with information on it and with the unhealthy response to it. Neither before that Sunday nor after it, no one was sharp enough to gather the journalists together, including us correspondents from central publications, to tell us what happened. Why did the city executive committee bar a function which was conducted last year? Could it be that the public action groups had some other concealed goals, as some are now saying? Would it have been a sin for party organs to share the complete information with us? Had they done so, we probably would not have had all of this confusion and this "verbal fruit salad." Moreover public opinion would not have turned against city authorities.

But in actuality everything turned out much worse: Journalists—"uninvited" in this case—came to the meeting location on official business, and were placed under observation. Our party organization—I am speaking in its behalf here—was concerned in particular by the fact that militia organs became a source of false rumors slandering TRUD correspondent S. Vaganov. The militia got his license number and then appeared at the garage accusing the driver (the journalist was himself behind the wheel) of hitting a woman and fleeing the scene. Rumors concerning this spread through Minsk instantaneously.

The journalist is still having to defend himself against attacks, and explain to people why he was "still at large."

This is not the only case where various methods have been used against correspondents in an attempt to keep them from performing their official responsibilities. This is often a topic of discussion at meetings of our party organization, which has 17 correspondents of central newspapers and journalists in its membership. A store salesclerk refuses to answer questions without special permission from the executive committee, an examining magistrate avoids an interview in the absence of a piece of paper from the editor's office, a ministry official (official only in words?) refuses to speak with a correspondent without the minister's sanction—examples of such artificial interference are inexhaustible. If as everyone says everything is going well for us, why is it sometimes so hard to heed the party's call for glasnost and openness?

I think that one of the reasons for this is that the inertia of those years of stagnation, when window-dressing flourished, when decisions were made behind the scenes and when compliance with the principle of "not washing one's soiled linen in public" guaranteed clear skies for officials, continues to operate. They have gotten used to looking at a journalist as a person who is welcome only at official ceremonies. And when he appears somewhere uninvited, especially if officials do not want "uncomfortable" facts to get out, he still evokes irritation and even active opposition.

We in Minsk still do not have a well organized system of informing mass media workers, and particularly correspondents from central publications, on current events; nor is something of this sort presently on the drawing boards. If we discount a few meetings put on by the city committee and the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet (correspondents are not invited as a rule to meetings of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee), we can say categorically that communication with us has not become a norm or a necessity for executives of the city and the republic. The fact that each journalist must seek his own channels of information is what sometimes leads to the misconceptions, mistakes or conflicting interpretations of facts, referred to in the secretary's report.

We have discussed the difficulties of gaining our accreditation several times at party meetings of our primary organization, and we have adopted several resolutions asking for at least one such meeting with the republic's Communist Party Central Committee.

There is also another channel by which information ascends from below, from primary party organizations—the cards of the automated "Ritm-YeS" system. On being elected secretary of the primary party organization, the first thing I did was to write out our request to organize meetings in the column "Remarks and Proposals to Higher Organs Stated at a Party Meeting." What computer ends up with these proposals, one can only guess. There has been no response. Could it be that this computer system needs some serious fixing?

From the editor. Our correspondent for Belorussia V. Roshchin intended to speak at the conference, but he was unable to do so in view of a time limit.

Soap, Detergent Shortages Reported in Ukraine

AU2812150988 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 21 Dec 88 p 4

[Report by correspondents N. Baras, Ya. Oleynichenko, V. Puzikov, and G. Selin: "A Soap Boom"]

[Excerpts] **Our newspaper has already reported the shortage of soap and detergents that has suddenly emerged. We have also received responses from the competent officials. Here is what V.S. Timofeyev, Ukrainian SSR deputy minister of trade, wrote in response to our item "What Is the Line For?" (published on 25 September):**

"For a number of years, the stocks have been inadequate in fully meeting the demand for soap. Over the last 3 years, the stocks have not actually increased, and in 1988 only 85 percent of the demand was met. 86 percent of the overall soap supply is of the cheap variety (costing under 40 kopecks).

"Before 1988, there were no difficulties in the supply of soap, and stoppages in sales were not recorded anywhere. However, regarding the rumors about the alleged coming price increases, in 1988 the population's demand for toilet and household soap, as well as for synthetic detergents increased.... In the third and the fourth quarters, the difficulties in the supply of soap and detergents have been aggravated as large amounts of these goods are being hoarded.

The deputy minister goes on to explain what measures have been drawn up by the ministry to overcome such an unexpected increase in the demand for soap and detergents. As is known, these measures have so far proved to be ineffective. This is being attested to by letters from the readers and—more eloquently than by anything else—either by the empty counters or by the mile-long lines at cosmetic stores and branches.

These goods, which suddenly are in short supply, are being made in the republic in several oblasts. Therefore, our own correspondents have been instructed to see how long the 'soap boom' will continue.

Kharkov: Various kinds of soap and washing powders, which were previously available in any amount, have disappeared from the counters. As soon as they are delivered, people literally buy them straight from the delivery vans. However, the demand has not subsided. [passage omitted]

Vinnitsa: How much soap does a person require? According to modest calculations, a 150-gram bar is sufficient for 2 weeks. This is the calculation from which the trade organizations proceed. The case of household soap and detergents is somewhat different. However, no matter what calculations one makes, there are neither soap nor powders, even in Vinnitsa where they are being produced. [passage omitted]

Nikolayev: Trade organization workers are trying to mitigate the effects of the shortage. [passage omitted]

These are the kinds of reports which we have received from our own correspondents. The answer to the main question—what has caused the 'soap boom'?—seems to be clear, on the whole: the mass consumer's mistrust in the future availability of commodities on the counter, and hence his propensity to listen to rumors and conjecture. In this case, there is only one cure: glasnost and educating with patience. Therefore, we call on the leaders of the republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee, the Ministry of Trade, and the Ukrainian Union of Consumers Societies: please tell people, esteemed comrades, how we are going to struggle against the existing shortage, and against the customer's mistrust in the ability of the trade and manufacturing organizations to meet the consumer's demand for necessities. What should be done to dispell the rumors?

Article Views Lithuanian Celebration of New Law

LD2912135788 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 20 Nov p 3

[Article by TIESA correspondents, Milda Augulaityte, Vytautas Kaltenis: "Tricolor Above Soviet Building", under the rubric: "Fact or Impression."]

[Text] The Tenth Session, Eleventh Convocation of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, deliberated vital questions in the republic's life and development. As previously announced, it adopted some important documents concerning: the national status of the Lithuanian language, the project for a Lithuanian SSR Constitution, the national flag and the national anthem.

The session was an extraordinary one. For the first time in years, deputies who had been dispatched by their constituents entrusted with specific mandates, suddenly

were becoming aware of a newly-awakened responsibility for their own statements and were experiencing a surge in their own power. It put them in an original mood—well, we must see!—a bubbling sea of faces, banners and flags assembled in Soviet Square.

All of Lithuania followed on television the proceedings which were taking place in the hall. Deputies' speeches and statements of their positions immediately reechoed throughout Soviet Square. The decisions which have been adopted there, will apparently touch our hearts for a long time to come. This session contained a lot which was genuine—genuine feelings, speeches and gestures. All these are a sign of our times. This demonstrates that people's deputies are starting to work for people's interests, and are striving to hear the voice of the electorate in order to represent them better.

We were able to observe Soviet Square only during the breaks and can only describe its mood based on brief observations. People stood motionless following the work of the session on radio; they were holding banners with slogans for proclaiming Lithuanian as the national language and slogans for the constitution.

State and budget plans were deliberated on the first day of the session, however questions of a national language were subject to live discussion in the square. Small groups explained how they visualized this topic. Ideas differed, but no voices were raised, forceful arguments prevailed. Many differing opinions on the language status were also expressed at the session itself. However, open discussions between deputies and guests were able to reduce the differences to such an extent that the resolution was passed unanimously. A Lithuanian SSR Constitutional Amendment, regarding the flag, was passed unanimously. The anthem, "National Song," by V. Kudirka, was also passed unanimously.

This points to the fact that we must learn how to talk, since, only be means of discussions can we express our concerns.

When we speak of unanimity in current terms, we do not suggest a mechanical hand raising, as during the times of stagnation. The hall was buzzing, as the speakers rose, one after the other, to explain their positions. Another, was meanwhile repeatedly asking to be recognized. Deputies were aware of the historical significance of the moment for the Lithuanian nation, and the passage of these resolutions was greeted with a storm of applause, previously unheard of in this building.

There were especially many differences of opinion regarding changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution and statute projects governing election of USSR People's Deputies. Different positions were discussed, not all deputies approved these in a resolute manner; some tried to present their own proposals. The most acceptable decisions, relative to the Lithuanian SSR Constitution, were also only brought to light during the course of a heated discussion.

In giving their mandate to the deputies prior to the session, the constituents place an extremely heavy burden upon them. Five months of revolutionary changes in Lithuania raised desires for more, than could be resolved during two session days. Many of the deputies exhibited a voice of sober rationality—the session results were lawful.

It is impossible to arrest the rebirth of the Lithuanian nation, however, one must not fly from the dark, like a moth aiming at a candle's flame. No one is going to change us. Freedom, according to our nation's rebirth philosophers, also means discipline and abiding by the laws. We must understand this, in order to be able to work in a normal fashion and to lead normal lives.

The tri-color was hoisted immediately following the session's approval of the law concerning the national flag.

Following the session, we talked with two academician members of the Parliamentary commission for preparation of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution Project, Yuras Pozhela and Vytautas Statulevichyus.

[Question] In what frame of mind are you returning to your daily concerns?

[Answer, Statulevichyus] In a good mood. We passed many good resolutions—on Lithuanian language, the flag, the national anthem. We had talked and dreamed much about such things.

Much is being said at our institute party youth meetings, about sovereignty and independence. The future of these ideas is of utmost importance. On the one hand, we all wish for a speedy acceptance of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution, on the other hand, there exist present union laws and the Union Constitution. Some proposals—by members of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement, were to curtail everything by tomorrow, as if, Article 70 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution did not exist, and that was that. We cannot, however, curtail everything in one day.

[Pozhela] I made a proposal for the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet to discuss questions, on which articles of our respective constitutions differ, with the USSR Supreme Soviet. During our work on the parliamentary commission for the constitution project we will try to reconcile all this. Each deputy must try to bring about a reappraisal of Article 70, as well as, of other articles which are unfavorable toward us.

We talked with Doctor of Philology A. Vanagas. Having expressed his pleasure over the legitimizing of the national language, he commented on the decree concerning the language use project. Currently every document denotes a document for making our nation more free. The constitutional article on language must not become just a formal short line. for this reason, the decree on the language use project must be very conscientiously examined by us; we must carefully note every word, lest this newly-acquired right become narrowed or distorted.

The session did not approve a new Lithuanian SSR Constitution, even though there were some proposals made to this end. We have a republic restructuring program; it is the project for the Lithuanian SSR Constitution which has been prepared by our scientists and the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement, having been approved by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium Work Committee.

We are proud of the best people in the movement (Sajudis). Representative of the Sejm's council, in their capacity as invited guests, also spoke at this session. They spoke competently, with a spiritual uplifting, but also, as if dissasociating themselves from common responsibility. In raising well-founded demands, they expressed the desires and determination of many. We must, however, also measure them with facts of life. It is sad that the Movement representatives departed without joining in the signing of the Lithuanian SSR's National Anthem, for the return of which to the nation, they had made such a passionate plea. That was a very obvious demonstration, and, regrettably, not for the good of the Movement.

In the name of Lithuania we must act in a sober fashion; we must search for common ground and help the party and government representatives solve everyday questions. Today, we are all obligated to share our responsibility for the nation in order to make our life more normal and to strengthen the spiritual tie between our fellow countrymen, which unites the people in new restructuring actions. The deputies have accomplished a great deal, in order to obtain for us that which we now have. We can not criticize them, especially, by attaching labels, or insulting them. And yet, after the session was concluded, the atmosphere in Soviet Square seemed to cool, it changed, voices were even raised in anger.

Brone Shlevinskas, a deputy from Skuodai Rayon and mathematics teacher at the Lenkimai Middle School, lingered near the doorway. She talked about how she was seen off by her constituents, and was happy to be able to return with her head held high, to bring back the language whose instruction has already been improved, the anthem which the children are singing already, a flag, which has already been weatherbeaten by this summer's wind.

All of this is not so little. We must learn to be patient and noble. Let us not cease to grow.

Yeltsin Expresses Readiness To Run in Elections

PM2912141488 Paris LE FIGARO in French 23 Dec 88 p 4

[Denis Legras dispatch: "Boris Yeltsin's Accusations"]

[Text] Moscow—Fourteen months after being expelled from the Moscow party leadership and from his seat on the Politburo, Boris Yeltsin has still not been disarmed. He has become even more vindictive and says that he is ready to run against Mikhail Gorbachev "the day alternative elections" are possible.

Political Suicide

Relegated, although with ministerial rank, to Gosstroy which supervises the whole of industrial and "social" construction, the former Zverdlovsk first secretary made his confession 5 weeks ago to the students of the Higher Komsomol School.

The interview of more than 2 hours which he granted them is like a political manifesto. Aside from Yuriy Andropov, of whom he said: "We need a man like him," very few people received his praise.

It is not really surprising that he had bitter words to say about Yegor Ligachev, with whom he constantly clashed for 2 and ½ years. However, the fact that he did not defend Mikhail Gorbachev amounts to provocation or political suicide.

Asked: "What can you tell us about the rumor that Comrade Gorbachev is building a villa in the Crimea but that the royalties from his books remain in Switzerland?" Yeltsin replied: "The dacha is finished. He did not have enough money of his own. I do not want to go into detail about his royalties."

That caution was justified by the certainty that his remarks would turn up on the general secretary's desk.

Was Yeltsin shocked by Mr Gorbachev's election as head of state? He did not answer clearly but reiterated that in his view the presence of Raisa Maksimovna, Mr Gorbachev's wife, on every provincial tour is "incomprehensible."

He also made a disillusioned comment about Gorbachev. Referring to his quarrels with Yegor Ligachev in the Politburo when the latter was ideology chief, he said: "We had many discussions on different issues. Mikhail Sergeyevich (Gorbachev—LE FIGARO editor's note) sometimes took a stance...." Yeltsin added: "After 2 and ½ years, I realized that it was virtually impossible to defend his positions."

He said that that was the reason for his resignation which was rejected in August 1987 and then forced after the scene he made at the October plenum on which he was

not prepared to comment. On the other hand, he confessed that Ligachev was not the only person who was the target of his diatribe. "Another person was," but he did not reveal who.

Mixture of Caution and Audacity

These statements, which are a mixture of caution and audacity, provide a surprising picture of Gorbachev's "democracy." With regard to the members of the Central Committee (the party's parliament—LE FIGARO editor's note) he said: "Of course, they give their verdict, but they are not asked to help draft the texts." With regard to the Supreme Soviet deputies, he said immediately: "They do not play any role during the sessions." The West knew that, but the young party members did not.

With regard to the reforms, he was equally cutting: "People theorize, but the structures are not ready." And Yeltsin spoke of "democratic rails without sleepers." He added that in 70 years the Soviet Government has only succeeded in "socializing ownership."

He also discussed the new government structure and the permanent parliament drawn from a congress of prominent people which will be elected in March: "This two-tier system is a filter. If the deputies, including the chairman of the Supreme Soviet (Gorbachev—LE FIGARO editor's note) were elected by direct ballot, we would be moving closer to conventional democracy." He also deplored the fact that the text of the constitutional reform was only published 1 month before it was adopted: "Why so much haste?"

Disdain or Distrust

Boris Yeltsin was not soft on anybody. Aleksandr Yakovlev, who is now in charge of ideology, seems to be the only one who has his respect: "He is one of the wisest people." With regard to Viktor Chebrikov, who was then still KGB chief, he made this comment: "He knows what he is doing." But he has nothing but disdain or distrust for the other people who were appointed Politburo members at the end of September.

Bitterness is not enough to explain these confidences. Boris Yeltsin explained how, at the 19th party conference, the people he formerly administered in Sverdlovsk chose him as their "delegate." His name was removed by the local authorities. At the last minute he was elected in Karelia.

He also gave an account of the procedural battle he fought to speak at the 19th conference. He only succeeded thanks to Gorbachev himself. That was the only concession he made to his former mentor.

But he also revealed that for fear that his fame might reflect badly on his successor at the head of the Sverdlovsk region, he was forbidden to visit the region even to see his mother who is now 90 years old.

We can only speculate about the aim of this meeting held by the Komsomol, and it is even more surprising that its content was communicated to a Western newspaper at a time when Gorbachev, who was on all television screens immediately after the Armenian tragedy, has been conspicuous by his absence for more than 10 days.

Brochure Profiles Gorbachev New York Visit

LD2812235188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Politicheskaya Literatura publishers have brought out a collection entitled "Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in New York, 6-8 December 1988: Documents and Materials." It contains materials about Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with Ronald Reagan and George Bush, his conversation with Perez de Cuellar, and other documents. The brochure was printed at the Krasnyy Proletariy printers. [video shows cover, pages of the brochure]

Fifth Komsomol Plenum To Convene 13 Jan

PM2912151588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau"]

[Text] A session of the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau, held 28 December, decided to convene the Fifth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum 13 January 1989. The following questions will be put forward for discussion by the plenum:

—on the nomination of candidate USSR people's deputies by the Komsomol;

—on the schedule and procedure for conducting the election of USSR people's deputies by the Komsomol;

—on the Komsomol Central Committee Theses for discussion by the whole Komsomol;

—on the Komsomol budget for 1989.

The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau examined and approved the plan of preparations for the Fifth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum.

The session discussed the progress of work on the theses for discussion by the whole Komsomol, as submitted by the Komsomol Central Committee commission.

The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau examined the plan for the Komsomol Central Committee's work in January-April 1989. Other questions were also examined.

Supreme Court Plenum Meets on Legal Reform

PM2912151088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "At the USSR Supreme Court"]

[Excerpts] A routine USSR Supreme Court plenum has been held. It heard a briefing from S.I. Gusev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, on the results of the CPSU Central Committee November (1988) Plenum and the extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, in connection with the implementation of judicial and legal reform and the improvement of judicial activity. [passage omitted]

On a submission of the USSR general prosecutor, the plenum gave the courts guidance on questions of defining the nature of the act and of sentencing with regard to persons committing crimes in conditions of natural or other public disasters. The plenum noted that in the emergency situation that has arisen as a result of the earthquake on the territory of the Armenian SSR, exceptionally great significance is attached to ensuring organization, discipline, and the strictest observance of law and order by all citizens and officials.

Criminal encroachments by individual antisocial elements on citizens' lives and health, public order and public safety, and citizens' personal and property rights, as well as socialist property, are particularly intolerable.

In the existing situation certain nationalistically minded circles in the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijani SSR seek to exacerbate ethnic relations. To this end they spread provocative fabrications and rumors aimed at kindling national enmity and strife, and there are frequent calls to disregard the laws and disobey the authorities. In these conditions it is a very important task for the courts to ensure the reliable protection of state interests and citizens' rights and legitimate interests, to impose just penalties on the guilty, and to take all necessary measures to ensure full restitution of the material damage caused by crimes.

In view of the enhanced social danger represented by crimes committed in conditions of natural disasters and the need for an immediate response to such crimes, the plenum instructed the courts to ensure the prompt resolution of cases involving such crimes, while strictly observing all the requirements of the law.

Where necessary, judicial investigation is to be carried out with the participation of representatives of the labor collectives' social organizations, and the public is to be informed more widely of the decisions adopted on cases.

In sentencing, it is to be taken into account that under Point 8, Article 34 of the Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation, the commission of a crime involving exploitation of the conditions of a public disaster is an aggravating circumstance.

The actions of persons stealing state or public property or the personal property of citizens from the premises of organizations, enterprises, or institutions, housing, or other structures, regardless of whether such premises have been damaged, should be defined, depending on the intent and other circumstances, as larceny [krazha], theft [grabezh], or robbery [razboy].

Encroachments on property held by injured or dead citizens should be defined in the same way. The theft of property from persons in a helpless condition, under Point 5, Article 34 of the Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation, should be regarded as entailing aggravating circumstances.

The unlawful appropriation to one's own ownership of money, industrial goods, foodstuffs, and other material assets placed at the disposal of state and social organizations for distribution as nonrepayable aid to victims should be defined as embezzlement of state or public property, or if such assets have already been handed over to the victims, as the corresponding crime against personal property.

The plenum explained that the dissemination of malicious rumors and fabrications undermining trust and respect toward another nationality or causing a feeling of hostility toward it should be regarded as propaganda and agitation for the purpose of stimulating racial or national enmity or strife as stipulated in Article 11 of the Law on Criminal Responsibility for State Crimes. Actions committed for that purpose may take the form of public statements and appeals, including those made in the press and other mass media, the preparation, dissemination, and advertising of pamphlets, posters, slogans, and so forth, and also the organization of meetings, rallies, and demonstrations and active participation in them for the purposes indicated. Direct or indirect restriction of rights or establishment of citizens' benefits according to their nationality should be taken to include actions taking the form of rejection of job applications, unlawful dismissal of citizens, violation of electoral rights, infringement of housing, land, and other civil rights and freedoms, and the granting of unlawful privileges and benefits to a particular nation on the grounds of nationality.

'Social Innovators' Forum Held in Moscow

PM2812173188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[V. Badov report: "Unprecedented Forum"]

[Text] The first forum of the country's social innovators has been held in Moscow.

What is the meaning of social invention? The forum's press release gives the following answer to this question: Any new and creative solution to problems encountered by society.

The term "social inventor" came into use at the same time as restructuring. The forum brought together more than 170 delegates who actually are the authors of innovations in education, the economy, culture, ecology... They were sent as delegates to the forum by the editorial offices of central and local newspapers which had helped them along their thorny path. PRAVDA, for example, was represented at the forum by M. Bocharov, director of the Butovo construction materials plant, V. Tarasov, one of the pioneers of lease contracts in industry and founder of the Tallinn cooperative school for managers, and others....

The forum's working groups held their debates at the Central Chess Club. The delegates elaborated and adopted the charter of the USSR Social Inventions Foundation, a self-managed public organization. One of its tasks is to create an effective mechanism for implementing socially important initiatives.

*Criminal Investigator Answers Readers' Questions

WA18000288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with Sergey Mikhaylovich Gromov, senior investigator, USSR Procuracy; interviewed conducted by V. Loktev: "'I Have Been Fortunate in Life...': Investigator S. M. Gromov Comments on Readers' Letters"]

[Excerpts] "I Have Been Fortunate in Life..." was the title given to an article on S. M. Gromov, USSR Procuracy senior investigator for especially major cases, published on 21 October. Readers were moved by this person's brilliant life story, boundless devotion to his job, at which he has worked for almost half a century, his professional principles and the results of his work (not a single case returned for further investigation, not a single case of false arrest and not a single acquittal).

"People like Gromov are real Communists, not just in words but in fact. Their principles are noble and deserving of respect." (V. Grigoryan, Leningrad). "We are grateful to you and to your colleagues for the difficult and honorable work you do to clean up our society. Your life is an example of service to the people." (Popov family, Yoshkar-Ola). "There should be more people like Gromov in law enforcement organs." (T. Sizova, Rostov-on-Don). Words and thoughts like there were often found in the numerous responses to the article. But there are also letters from people who have direct questions for the subject of the article himself. We have asked S. M. Gromov to comment on these letters. [passage omitted]

[Loktev] "During the 1920's and 1930's there were in our country quite a few real enemies of the people—wreckers, provocateurs, saboteurs and criminals—who needed to be convicted and repressed. During the war years we had traitors and people who worked for the occupation police. Stalin convicted them, and rightly so. Now we are condemning Stalin for doing this. Why?" This question is from N. V. Losev, a veteran of the Great Patriotic War from Yunokommunarovsk, Donetsk Oblast.

[Gromov] I suspect that the person who wrote this letter is of my generation. In the article I talked of how we as young people perceived the arrests of the late 1930's. I will not repeat what was said there.

However, I agree with Losev that there were indeed people like the ones he describes: enemies of the Soviet State, traitors. There were justly condemned. But the number of honest people devoted to our country and Lenin's cause who suffered under Stalin was immeasurably larger. Much is being written about that today. I have had personal experience with this subject through my work with special materials concerning individuals convicted both before and after the war.

No, Stalin did not shoot anyone himself, but the mass tyranny, lawlessness and terror occurred during his years as leader of our party and our country. He could not help but know what was going on. So it would be at the very least overly simplistic to ascribe all the blame for the victims of that period to his closest "comrades in arms."

[Loktev] Our editorial staff, and probably yourself as well, has received many letters detailing on dozens of pages cases of abuse by officials; we also get letters in which readers give their own telephone numbers and request that we talk with them directly.

[Gromov] The majority of letters I get are connected, in the writers' opinions, with some specific deaths, unjust convictions, unfounded prosecution or arbitrariness on the part of certain officials with regard to the person making the complaint. And the nature of these letters attest to the fact that in a number of instances the cases reported by them definitely demand careful attention and investigation by the appropriate services.

For my part, I have deemed it necessary to send memoranda to the appropriate organs in connection with some of the most alarming reports.

[Loktev] A majority of letters of this type come from outlying areas, bypassing the appropriate republic- or oblast-level authorities. What does that tell us?

[Gromov] Well, firstly that local authorities have not paid attention to the writers' complaints, or that the latter were not satisfied by local officials' reactions to their petitions. Secondly, we are still experiencing inertia in people's minds; this took hold over the years of

stagnation when people who could not find a solution to their problems would write to Moscow, pinning their hopes on the omnipotence of the central departments in the capital.

I often travel and meet with my colleagues from various republic and oblasts in connection with official business. The majority of them are honest, knowledgeable specialists. Of course they could handle many of the complaints people send to the center, because they lack confidence in the competence of their local law enforcement services, often without any grounds whatsoever for this lack of confidence.

[Loktev] Moscow resident Yu. P. Shiryayev asks you to give your opinion on what he regards as an important problem. Here is an excerpt from his letter: "In October I saw on television a meeting with Comrade V. I. Terebilov, USSR Supreme Court chairman. In response to the question 'Why do courts often hand down acquittals or simply return cases for further investigation?' he replied: 'It is better to let two criminals go free than it is to condemn one innocent person.'" For whom is that better? That was the main thrust of his letter.

[Gromov] I did not see that broadcast, but I assume that Terebilov was merely paraphrasing and simplifying the well-known adage that "it is better to let ten guilty men go free rather than condemn one man unjustly." In a human or, if you like, purely humanitarian sense this aphorism is attractive and one can accept it with the heart, since punishment of an innocent person is truly a great evil. But another thing is also clear: de facto impunity of a real criminal is no less of a social evil. The guarantee that neither of these extremes occur is unwavering compliance with the requirements of the law in the process of prosecution: swift and complete detection of crimes, apprehension of the criminals, the bringing of guilty parties to justice and correct application of the law to ensure that every person who commits a crime receives a fair punishment and that not a single innocent person is tried and convicted. [passage omitted]

[Loktev] You have had a great deal of experience investigating cases connected with economic crimes. It is evidently for that reason that many readers are interested in your opinion of the situation described in a letter (the person who wrote the letter asked that his name be omitted) we received from a penal institution: "During the course of the investigation into my case the investigator repeatedly stressed that if I made a sincere confession, was sincerely repentant and cooperated in the investigation the court would have to take that into account in my sentencing. Naive as I was I believed him, but I received the longest prison term allowed by law for my offense..."

[Gromov] I would not presume to draw any absolute conclusion concerning the appropriateness of the penalty given for the crime committed by the author of this letter. But it is quite obvious that in cases where the accused, despite what this letter says, exposes particularly dangerous crimes committed by other individuals that were not previously known, actively aids the investigation and compensates the country for material losses, then it is mandatory for the court to take into account the legal requirement that the accused receive a reduced sentence. Therein, in my opinion, lies the humanitarian nature of Soviet justice.

[Loktev] I would like to conclude our conversation with an excerpt from a letter written by Ye. P. Nemchenko, a war veteran from Vladimir. He writes: "The story of S. M. Gromov's life is interesting and instructive. Reading the article one cannot help but be filled with respect for this man. His wealth of life experiences and professional experience is of great educational significance for our young people. Does Sergey Mikhaylovich intend to write his memoirs?"

[Gromov] Of course, after 50 years service in investigative organs I do have stories to tell; I will try my hand at writing. I have already had two short stories published; they are entitled "Bud gotov k neozhidannomu" [Be Prepared for the Unexpected] and "Sledstviyem ustanovleno..." [Investigation Has Established...]. I have finished the manuscript for a new story tentatively to be titled "Na voyne byvayet vsyakoye" [Anything Can Happen in Wartime]. Basically these stories pertain to cases that I have investigated. I am pressed for time, so thus far I have not thought about writing a longer work.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the readers of PRAVDA for the warm letters that they have sent me.

Civil Aviation Ministry Sums Up Year's Work

PM2812161188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[N. Mishina report: "Aeroflot: New Routes"]

[Text] The Ministry of Civil Aviation organized a meeting with the ministry's leadership yesterday, at which the results of the year's work were summed up.

First Deputy Minister B. Panyukov noted that there were no substantial changes for the better in services to passengers and freight clients, even though there were fewer complaints from the population. The number of passengers carried this year exceeded 124 million, and this is higher than plan indicators. Emphasis in the future will be placed on building up opportunities to more fully satisfy the needs of the Far Eastern region and the Far North. It is also planned to expand international routes, especially to Southeast Asia countries.

The new Tu-204 and Il-96 aircraft will not start operating passenger services before 1990, B. Panyukov said, and for the time being we will be making more intensive use of the Tu-154M, YAK-42, and Il-86 aircraft, relying on larger numbers of them. We are pleased with the high

appraisal of our work in Armenia made by the government commission. I would like to express—personally and on behalf of the ministry leadership—tremendous gratitude to workers from the traffic control and ground services for their truly heroic labor.

Public Information Center To Study Opinion

LD2812123588 Moscow TASS in English 1207 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—The task of the Soviet inter-departmental council for information and public links is to study Soviet public opinion on technological, economic and ecological aspects of the use of nuclear energy.

A public information centre set up on Wednesday has become the council's working body.

The centre unites representatives of the USSR State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy, Ministry of Nuclear Power Development, the Soviet Public Health Ministry and the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature.

Electoral Commission Decides Representation Norms

PM2812142588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Central Electoral Commission for Election of USSR People Deputies"]

[Text] At its 20 December session, the Central Electoral Commission for Election of USSR People's Deputies took cognizance of a report on the institution of representation norms for all public organizations participating in the elections.

According to the USSR Constitution, all-union public organizations will elect 750 USSR people's deputies.

According to the Law on Elections, the CPSU will elect 100 deputies, the USSR trade unions—100 deputies, the Komsomol—75 deputies, the women's councils united within the Committee of Soviet Women—75 deputies, and the organizations of war and labor veterans united within their All-Union Council—75 deputies.

Joint sessions of plenipotentiaries from the leading elective organs of public organizations, convened by the Central Electoral Commission, determined the specific number of deputies' mandates for each organization within the limits of representation norms set by the law.

Out of the 100 deputies from cooperative organizations, 58 will be elected by kolkhozes united within the Union Kolkhoz Council, 40 by the Union of Consumer Societies, and 2 by the All-Union Association of Fishery Kolkhozes. Out of the 75 deputies from scientific workers' associations, the USSR Academy of Sciences together with 20 scientific societies and 8 associations will elect 30 deputies, the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences will elect 10, the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences together with 40 scientific medical societies will elect 10, the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences together with the Soviet Association of Pedagogical Research Scientists will elect 5, the USSR Academy of Art will elect 5, the Union of USSR Scientific and Engineering Societies will elect 10, and the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers will elect 5 deputies.

The 75 deputies' mandates allocated by law to the USSR creative unions were distributed as follows: 10 deputies each from the Architects Union, the Journalists Union, the Cinematography Workers Union, the Composers Union, the Writers Union, the Theatrical Workers Union, and the Painters Unions, and 5 deputies from the Designers Union.

Other public organizations established according to the procedure provided by law and having all-Union organs will elect 75 deputies, as follows: 15 deputies from DOSAAF; 10 deputies from the Union of USSR Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies; 10 deputies from the All-Union "Znaniye" Society; 5 deputies from the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries jointly with the Soviet Society for Cultural Ties with Compatriots Abroad (the "Rodina" Society); 7 deputies from the Soviet Peace Foundation jointly with the 8 Soviet committees advocating peace, solidarity, and international cooperation; 5 deputies from the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace jointly with the USSR UN Association; 5 deputies from the Soviet Culture Foundation; 5 deputies from the V.I. Lenin Soviet Children's Foundation; 5 deputies from the Soviet Charity and Health Foundation; 3 deputies from the USSR public sports organizations (the All-Union Trade Unions' Voluntary Physical Culture and Sports Society jointly with the "Trudovyye Rezervy" All-Union Voluntary Sports Society, the "Dinamo" All-Union Voluntary Sports Society, and the Army Central Sports Club); 1 deputy from the All-Union Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety; 1 deputy from the All-Union Bibliophiles Society; 1 deputy from the All-Union Society of Friends of the Cinema; 1 deputy from the All-Union Music Society; and 1 deputy from the All-Union Society of Philatelists.

Bearing in mind that the representation norms for public organizations are determined, the Central Electoral Commission decided to conclude its work on determining representation norms for the aforesaid organizations.

Paris Paper Interviews REFERENDUM Editor

PM2812141688 Paris LE FIGARO in French 22 Dec 88 p 4

[Interview with Lev Timofeyev, editor of independent magazine REFERENDUM, by Arielle Thedrel; date, place not given]

[Text] [Thedrel] Have you observed real changes in the Soviet Union since Mr Gorbachev came to power?

[Timofeyev] In the USSR words are more powerful than elsewhere. For 70 years the regime has survived on the basis of myths. The most important fact since Gorbachev came to power is that people have been allowed to abandon some of those myths. The most harmful of them is the myth of a completely centralized socialist economy. The situation was such that if a peasant had a cow which was dying of starvation, he did not have the right to cut grass to feed it. The cow had to die. We now have the impression that these ridiculous principles have been abandoned.

Gorbachev is probably aware that these restrictions on the economy cannot continue, but for the time being he is faced with a choice: Either to continue with this situation of permanent crisis or to liberalize things.

[Thedrel] A Czechoslovak dissident recently stressed that the question is no longer whether or not Gorbachev will last but whether today's Gorbachev will be the same tomorrow. Do you agree?

[Timofeyev] This idealization of Gorbachev the man is typical of the Western countries. You apply democratic thought to the USSR. Gorbachev has not been elected. He is a party official. He has introduced reforms not because he is a nice man, but because he wants to stay in power. People tend to forget that, long before Gorbachev came on the scene, there was critical thinking within the party. Under Chernenko economist Tatyana Zaslavskaya submitted a report to the Central Committee in which she said everything that Gorbachev is now saying.

The Party's Needs

The fact that Mrs Zaslavskaya was allowed to present her report proves that the Central Committee was already fully aware of the crisis and of the need to initiate reforms. It is quite simply a question of survival. Whether you like Gorbachev or not, he corresponds to the party's needs.

Experience shows that a leader who has absolute power does not tend to become more liberal with time. Quite the reverse.

[Thedrel] Several Western countries have just shown that they have confidence in Mikhail Gorbachev and have given him large amounts of credit. What do you think of their attitude?

[Timofeyev] I think that they are too credulous and that they take promises for established facts. So far there have only been half-measures, which are not very clear and are incomplete. In the political sphere, some measures are even dangerous. For instance, this is true of the electoral reform. There are also openly repressive measures like those which relate to the right to demonstrate. The reform of the penal code is under way and I am worried by what I see, because being in disagreement with the regime is still regarded as a crime. We have learned from a very reliable source that a law on the press is being drafted and that it will make the existence of independent publications like ours virtually impossible. Although prisoners of conscience have been released, this is solely due to pressure from Western countries. Moreover, those prisoners have been pardoned but not rehabilitated.

The West stands to gain from being more cautious. The process of democratization in the USSR must become truly irreversible. Nobody is yet sure that it is. Not even Gorbachev. I would like to stress that I support Gorbachev's program, but I do so precisely because I want his program to be implemented. The West must exert pressure.

Economic

Council of Ministers Foreign Trade Resolution

PM2212143988 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 51, Dec 88 (Signed to Press 15 Dec 88) pp 17-18

["USSR Council of Ministers Resolution 'On Further Developing the Foreign Economic Activity of State, Cooperative, and Other Public Enterprises, Associations, and Organizations,' Ratified by the USSR Council of Ministers 2 December 1988"—EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers proceeds from the premise that the foreign economic activity of state, cooperative, and other public enterprises, associations, and organizations is an inalienable part of their economic life and an active component of the work being done in the country on the radical economic reform, the consolidation of the country's economy and the enhancement of its international standing, and the attainment of modern frontiers in terms of equipment, technology, and organization of production.

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference deemed it expedient to implement the restructuring of the system of foreign economic ties within the framework of the current 5-year plan. This has been brought about by the fact that, despite the organizational-legal and economic conditions which have already been created, there have still been no substantial positive changes in foreign economic activity, especially as regards the development of exports and the rationalization of their structure. Just like before, imports are largely used to resolve current tasks. The principle of foreign currency cost recovery is not functioning adequately; ministries, departments, and union republic Councils of Ministers are still eager to solve their problems but unwilling to apply their own funds for this purpose; economic leaders display insufficient socialist enterprise; and the measures adopted to encourage foreign economic activity do not produce the proper effect.

With the aim of substantially expanding the sphere of foreign economic ties; vigorously involving enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations in this work; further simplifying the current procedure for organizing foreign economic ties; implementing them in the conditions of genuine foreign currency cost recovery; and making consistent use of commodity-money relations, the USSR Council of Ministers has resolved:

1. One of the most important tasks of union, republic, sector, and local organs of management must be to apply all means to provide organizational and economic conditions for the active involvement of enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations in different forms of foreign economic activity on the principles of foreign currency cost recovery and development of socialist enterprise.

Attaching priority importance to the development of cooperation with socialist countries, it is necessary to consistently create the necessary conditions for the USSR's active participation in shaping a single market of CEMA countries on the basis of deepening integration, widely involving enterprises, associations, and organizations in foreign economic activit;, expanding their autonomy in these matters; and utilizing commodity-money relations and the interaction between national markets.

Organizational-Legal Questions of Foreign Economic Activity

2. The need for radical democratization of the procedure for granting rights to directly implement export-import operations (including in the markets of capitalist and developing countries) must be recognized.

As of 1 April 1989, all enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations whose output (work, services) is competitive on the foreign market are to be granted the right to directly implement export-import operations. Export-import operations are to be implemented on the basis of foreign currency cost recovery, and the results form an organic part of the results of economic activity and influence the formation of economic incentives funds and foreign currency funds.

Enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations can implement export-import operations directly, creating for this purpose, where necessary, economically accountable foreign trade firms, or can implement them on a contractual basis via other foreign economic organizations, being guided here by the achievement of the best conditions for exports and imports, foreign currency cost recovery, and self-financing and proceeding from the premise that the state is not responsible for their obligations. The normatives for foreign currency deductions set for enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations remain the same regardless of the foreign economic organization through which the export of their output (work, services) is implemented.

The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the USSR Ministry of Finance, and the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry are instructed within 1 month to formulate and present to the USSR Council of Ministers proposals for the creation of a system for registering enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations implementing the export-import operations.

The USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission is granted the right, at the submission of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and union republic councils of ministers, to suspend the implementation of export-import operations by enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations in cases where unscrupulous competition occurs or their activity damages the state's interests.

3. With the aim of creating the conditions for boosting efficiency in the sale of Soviet goods and services on the foreign market, eliminating unwarranted competition between Soviet exporters, reducing marketing expenses, and also optimizing purchases abroad, it is deemed expedient to form on a voluntary basis various types of foreign economic organizations, including intersectoral associations, consortiums, various associations, joint-stock companies, trade houses, and other organizations with the participation of the producers of output (work, services), and also, where necessary, banks, supply and marketing, and other organizations. The normatives for foreign currency deductions laid down for the participants in such organizations remain the same. Relations between members of such organizations are built in conformity with current legislation and their documents of incorporation.

Where any of the aforementioned foreign economic organizations involve foreign partners, they are formed according to the procedure established for the creation of joint enterprises.

The charters of foreign economic organizations formed under the provisions of this article are ratified (adopted) subject to coordination with the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

4. Enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations can export any output (work, services) they produce with the exception of particular types, of which the USSR Council of Ministers is drawing up a list.

Enterprises, associations, and other organizations can use their own funds or borrowings to import for their own needs raw materials, materials, subassemblies,

machines and equipment, spare parts, and other goods and services needed for retooling, reconstructing, and expanding production; for conservation of the environment; for carrying out scientific research and experimental design work; and for other purposes envisaged by current legislation. Production cooperatives can use their own funds or borrowings to import goods (work, services) in accordance with the USSR Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR."

The USSR Council of Ministers determines the list of output (work, services) whose import is banned.

They are also authorized to use their own foreign currency resources to send, in accordance with established procedure, specialists and other workers on business travel to participate in talks on scientific, technical, production, and commercial questions and in international exhibitions and fairs, to exchange experience, and to undergo training and to implement other activity in accordance with current legislation.

State enterprises, associations, and organizations are authorized to spend, by decision of the labor collectives, all their funds in transfer rubles and the national currencies of CEMA member countries; and up to 10 percent (up to 15 percent for enterprises, associations, and organizations in the Far Eastern Economic Region) of their funds in other foreign currencies, including freely convertible currency, on obtaining consumer goods, medicines, and medical technology and strengthening the material and technical base of the sociocultural sphere.

The USSR Ministry of Trade and the USSR State Committee for Prices are to determine the procedures and conditions governing the sale of consumer goods purchased with foreign currency fund resources.

5. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, with the agreement of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, is to introduce for specific periods licenses and quotas for exports and imports regarding individual goods, types of services, countries, or groups of countries in those instances where this is required by the state of payment relations or other economic and political conditions.

6. With the aim of safeguarding statewide interests in implementing foreign economic ties and in expanding and improving the means for the implementation of USSR foreign economic policy, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the USSR State Committee for Prices, the USSR State Committee for Statistics, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR State Committee for Standards, and the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for State Customs Control are instructed to:

Elaborate and submit to the USSR Council of Ministers by 1 January 1990 suggestions for a new USSR customs tariff. This work should be based on the potential for using the tariff to determine the prices for imported goods and to regulate demand and supply in the country's domestic market, and also as a base for conducting international trade talks, including talks with GATT and the EEC;

Elaborate and ensure the gradual introduction, as of 1 January 1989, of a system of measures for the effective nontariff regulation of USSR foreign economic ties, making specific provisions for the introduction of appropriate customs rules, and the utilization of the instruments of nontariff regulation. The elaboration of this system should take into account the USSR's international obligations and the possibility of using it for current regulation of USSR foreign economic ties, including for the purpose of their balanced development and the achievement of favorable results at international trade talks;

Expedite the drawing up of customs statistics, including the recording of cooperation implemented on the basis of direct ties and border and coastal trade, with a view to ensuring its introduction by 1990.

7. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the USSR Ministry of Justice, jointly with interested USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers, should continue to improve the legal basis of USSR foreign economic ties, and primarily the new forms of cooperation. It is necessary to elaborate in 1988-1990 legislation on joint stock companies, rules of competition, protection of consumer interests, foreign currency operations, economic activity of Soviet enterprises and organizations abroad, and other questions of USSR foreign economic ties. This work should culminate in 1990 with the preparation of a draft USSR law on foreign trade and other type of foreign economic activity.

8. The line of consistently developing and deepening the principle of foreign currency cost recovery by enterprises, associations and organizations, national economic sectors, and territorial complexes, and of increasing the efficiency of their foreign economic activity must be continued.

The USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Finance should elaborate and submit to the USSR Council of Ministers proposals for the transfer of individual sectors of the USSR national economy, union republics, and territorial complexes, and primarily the Far Eastern Economic Region, to full foreign currency cost recovery as of 1 January 1991. This work must include examination of the procedure enabling national economic sectors and union republics to form centralized foreign currency funds for solving sectorwide and regionwide socioeconomic tasks.

Beginning in 1991, it will be necessary to adopt the setting of normatives, fixed for the 5-year plan period, for payments to the state from foreign currency earnings actually acquired by enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations through the export of the goods (work, services) they produce.

Practical activity must be rigorously guided by fixed normatives.

The USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Finance, jointly with USSR ministries and departments and union republic Councils of Ministers, must elaborate and submit to the USSR Council of Ministers proposals for the determination of the aforementioned normatives by USSR ministries and departments and union republic Councils of Ministers for the 13th 5-Year Plan period.

USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers set for their subordinate enterprises, associations, and organizations normatives for payments to the state from foreign currency earnings, subject where necessary to differentiation on the basis of their specific work. The aforementioned organs must guarantee the payments to the state according to the normatives set for them.

9. With a view to implementing the provisions of the USSR Law "On the State Enterprise (Association)," the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Gossnab, USSR ministries and departments, and union republic councils of ministers should give priority to the full allocation of stocks for export from the output they distribute.

Pending the allocation of commodities for export under the established procedure, state enterprises, associations, and organizations are authorized to conclude export delivery contracts and treaties for the year being planned and subsequent years covering up to 100 percent of the quantity established for machinery and technical output by plan targets for the year preceding the year being planned, and up to 80 percent of that quantity for any other output.

Development of Economic Methods of Management and Incentives

10. The role of foreign economic ties must be enhanced, as must the combination of centralized planning and the development of the initiative and economic autonomy of enterprises, associations, and organizations, with a view to ensuring higher foreign currency earnings and thrifty expenditure of foreign currency funds on this basis.

USSR ministries and departments, union republic councils of ministers, and enterprises, associations, and organizations must proceed from the premise that the satisfaction of their import requirements must depend on their direct activity to develop exports.

11. The USSR Gosplan and the USSR Gossnab, jointly with the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and together with interested USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers, must elaborate within 3 months and ratify procedures for drafting foreign economic activity plans, including plans at sector and enterprise level, bearing in mind the need to develop exports by all possible means, improve their structure, enhance their efficiency, reduce dependence on imports, reduce the Soviet Union's foreign currency indebtedness, and unconditionally fulfill all given pledges. This work must be taken into account when preparing methodological recommendations for the elaboration of state plans for the USSR's economic and social development.

12. With the aim of expanding the USSR's participation in the world division of labor, deepening integration processes, particularly in implementing new forms of cooperation, and increasing realism in assessing the efficiency of exports and imports it is planned to switch as from 1 January 1991 to using a new exchange rate in settlements relating to foreign economic transactions.

By the end of 1989 the USSR Gosbank, the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Gosplan, and the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity must elaborate and submit to the USSR Council of Ministers specific proposals regarding the magnitude and the procedure for instituting and utilizing the exchange rate.

When preparing suggestions for improving the system for taxing the profits (revenues) of state, cooperative, and public associations, enterprises, and organizations, the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and the AUCCTU must proceed from the need to take into account the economic results of their export-import activity when differentiating tax rates.

13. It is deemed necessary to simplify the existing system of settlement in implementing the export-import activity of state enterprises, associations, and organizations by gradually abandoning the use of differentiated foreign currency coefficients when converting actual contract prices into Soviet rubles.

Before switching to settlements using the new exchange rate, a 100-percent increase in the exchange rate of freely convertible currency against the ruble is to be introduced as of 1 January 1990.

14. With the aim of increasing economic interest and responsibility and expanding independence in implementing export-import operations, it is laid down that payments into the foreign currency funds of state and public enterprises, associations, and organizations from the proceeds of exports of goods (work, services) are to be credited to their accounts as from the first quarter of 1989 as payments from the foreign buyer come in. Similarly, proceeds in foreign currency, after deductions

paid to the state in accordance with established normatives, are to be transferred to the accounts of production cooperatives implementing foreign economic activity.

The USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, in coordination with the USSR Ministry of Finance, should lay down procedures for the transfer of funds in foreign currency to the accounts of enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations, and should introduce appropriate amendments to the current procedure governing credits resulting from import-export operations and payments to the state budget.

15. Normatives for deductions paid to the state, including deductions paid to union republic Councils of Ministers, from proceeds in foreign currency have been set for independently operating production cooperatives in 1988-1990 on the basis of the normatives envisaged for enterprises, associations, and organizations of local industry and republican ministries and departments regarding the payment of money into their foreign currency funds.

In those cases when cooperatives are organized under state, cooperative, or other public enterprises, organizations, and institutions, deductions from cooperatives' proceeds in foreign currency paid to the state, including deductions paid to the USSR ministries and departments or union republic councils of ministers within whose jurisdiction the enterprises, organizations, and institutions fall, are made on the basis of the normatives established for the said enterprises, organizations, and institutions regarding the payment of money into their foreign currency funds.

Cooperatives can build up their foreign currency resources by deposits in foreign currency credited to the accounts of cooperative members.

16. In order to develop the socialist enterprise of enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations and expand their opportunities to enlist foreign currency to solve labor collectives' socioeconomic tasks, the free exchange of money from foreign currency funds and the sale and purchase of this money for Soviet rubles at contract prices at foreign currency auctions organized by the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity are to be introduced.

The USSR Gosbank, jointly with the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, and the USSR Gosplan, should elaborate a system for the sale and purchase of foreign currency at the said auctions, using for this purpose resources in exporters' foreign currency funds in all types of foreign currency, as well as resources in transfer rubles from centralized sources.

17. The USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity is authorized to make bank credit facilities of up to R5 million in foreign currency available to enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations, such credit facilities to be repaid by applying to this purpose all foreign currency earnings from the export of goods (work, services) produced as a result of the implementation of measures financed by such credits. The USSR Gosplan should annually set ceilings for the funds allocated for this purpose.

18. For the purpose of more fully developing in the USSR, the market for transfer ruble wholesale trade in means of production, the USSR Gosplan, USSR Gossnab, the USSR State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science, the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport, the USSR Ministry of Health, and the USSR Ministry of Trade are instructed to proceed from the premise that the value of the goods channeled for sale each year via wholesale trade must exceed the amount of money in transfer rubles in the foreign currency funds of enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations, USSR ministries and departments, and union republic Councils of Ministers.

The output of enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations designated for export can be utilized for sale on the transfer ruble wholesale trade market.

It is allowed to invite enterprises and organizations from socialist countries to participate in the domestic wholesale market for means of production on conditions of reciprocity and balanced payments.

19. With a view to ensuring stable conditions for implementing economic accountability in enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations actively involved in foreign economic activity, it is deemed necessary to create a system enabling Soviet exporters to insure against commercial risks when implementing external market operations.

The USSR Ministry of Finance and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations should elaborate and ratify procedures for insurance against commercial risks, having looked at the possibility of setting up specialized insurance companies for this purpose.

20. When elaborating bonus systems for their personnel ministries, departments, and enterprises, associations, and organizations implementing foreign economic activity are recommended to proceed from the need to step up this activity, to increase the volume of deliveries of export goods, to expand the range of them, to develop production sharing [kooperatsionnyy] and other modern forms of cooperation, and to ensure the conclusion of interconnected export-import deals, the saving of foreign currency, and the reduction of imports.

21. With a view to encouraging the adoption of intensive plans for the production and delivery of output for export, all plan deliveries for export should enjoy the

additional economic benefits envisaged by the Temporary Regulations for the Procedure for Forming State Orders in 1989 and 1990, as ratified by USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No 889 dated 25 July 1988.

22. Enterprises, associations, and organizations delivering finished products for export pay some of the money from their foreign currency funds to subcontracting enterprises and organizations. The size of these payments is determined contractually in the light of the participants' contribution to producing the export product.

Foreign currency funds are transferred to the accounts of subcontractors opened with the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity following receipt of payment from the foreign purchaser.

23. Enterprises, associations, and organizations within the systems of all-union and union-republic ministries and USSR departments pay 5 percent of the money from their foreign currency funds to the Moscow Gorispolkom, Leningrad Gorispolkom, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, autonomous republic councils of ministers, or councils of ministers of union republics which are not divided into oblasts according to the territory on which the relevant enterprises, associations, and organizations are located.

Where necessary, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, and autonomous republic councils of ministers are recommended to create subdivisions of 2-3 persons to promote the development of the foreign economic activity of the enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations located on their territory.

24. A uniform normative for payments into foreign currency funds, amounting to 70 percent of of earnings in all types of foreign currency from the export of output (work, services), is to be established for enterprises and associations within the USSR Gosagroprom system for 1989-1990.

All hitherto adopted decisions on these questions are to be considered as no longer in force, except for decisions adopted in connection with the output produced by the "Kuban," "Moskva," "Ramenskoye," "Kashirskiy," and "Tosnenskiy" Agro-Industrial Combines, the "Adazhi," "Zarya," "Progress," "Provesin," and "Shchapovo" agro-industrial firms, the "Stavropolskoye" broiler production association, and the "Novomoskovskoye" production association. These exceptions will remain in force until 1 January 1991.

25. The Moscow Gorispolkom, Leningrad Gorispolkom, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, and union and autonomous republic councils of ministers are granted the right to use up to 50 percent of the money in their foreign currency funds to acquire consumer goods, medicines and medical equipment, and equipment for conservation of the environment and to strengthen the material and technical base of the sociocultural sphere.

26. It is laid down that coastal and border trade is effected through local resources, goods allocated to union republics from market stocks, and raw and other materials saved by enterprises, associations, and organizations directly involved in such trade and in conformity with the conditions laid down by Articles 4 and 5 of this resolution. All earnings from exports are channeled into the purchase of consumer goods to satisfy the needs of the population of border regions and to acquire machines, equipment, materials, and other commodities.

27. It is laid down that the fulfillment of the Soviet Union's commitments stemming from interstate and intergovernmental treaties for the delivery of equipment and materials and the provision of engineering and technical services, including those subject to long-term state credits or supplied free of charge, is to be ensured by giving priority to allocations in full to meet the material resource ceilings, while orders by general suppliers (contractors) for the manufacture of output and the performance of work and services stemming from the said USSR international treaties are accepted for execution by enterprises and organizations under the conditions applicable to state orders.

The USSR Gosplan, the USSR Gossnab, and USSR ministries and departments must bear this in mind when compiling material balance sheets.

28. With a view to increasing Soviet construction and installation organizations' interest in acquiring foreign currency, they are authorized to tender for the construction on USSR territory of projects for whose construction foreign currency has been allocated.

The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, jointly with the USSR Gosstroy and other interested USSR ministries and departments, is to elaborate a procedure for organizing such international tenders.

29. With a view to developing progressive forms of cooperation, more fully satisfying the population's demand by expanding the range of consumer goods, and developing exchange of output for production and technical purposes, permission is given to implement on a balanced basis commodity exchange operations with organizations in socialist countries and firms in capitalist and developing countries, as follows: Enterprises and organizations under the USSR Ministry of Trade in consumer goods from market stocks allocated to them, and enterprises and organizations under the USSR Gossnab in output for production and technical purposes which they distribute.

30. With a view to resolving the questions of developing the production of consumer goods and other social tasks, the USSR Council of Ministers can give permission to implement barter deals in exceptional cases.

Questions of the Organization and Activity of Joint Ventures and International Associations and Organizations

31. With a view to stepping up work to create on USSR territory joint ventures with the participation of foreign countries' organizations and firms, it is laid down that:

The Soviet and foreign partners' shares of the incorporation capital are determined by agreement between them;

The chairman of the board or general director of a joint venture can be a foreign citizen;

Fundamental questions of the activity of a joint venture are decided at board meetings on the basis of the unanimity of all board members;

Questions of hiring and firing, the forms and size of remuneration, and material incentives in Soviet rubles with regard to personnel of the joint venture are decided by the joint venture;

Goods imported into the USSR by a joint venture for purposes of production development can be liable to minimal duty or not liable to duty at all;

The foreign personnel of joint ventures pay for the housing and other services provided to them in Soviet rubles, with the exception of instances laid down by decisions of the USSR Council of Ministers.

With a view to providing additional incentives for the creation of joint ventures in the Far Eastern Economic Region it is deemed necessary to exempt these ventures from paying tax on profits for the 1st 3 years from the moment the declared profit is obtained.

The USSR Ministry of Finance must:

Elaborate and ratify within 3 months rules for determining the taxable income of joint ventures with due consideration for practices abroad;

Reduce to 10 percent the tax on the profits of joint ventures created in the Far Eastern Economic Region.

32. It is deemed expedient to grant the USSR Ministry of Finance the right not to tax for a specific period the portion of profits payable to the foreign participant in a joint venture when it is transferred abroad or to reduce the rate of the aforesaid tax if the treaty between the USSR and the relevant state provides for no alternative. This right is to be used chiefly when joint ventures are producing consumer goods, medical equipment and medicines, or high-technology output of great national economic importance, and also with respect to joint ventures in the Far Eastern Economic Region.

33. It is laid down that the transfer of shares in a joint venture, insurance against risks by a joint venture, and auditing of its financial and economic activity are done subject to agreement between the sides.

34. The USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration of State Customs Control, jointly with the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the USSR Ministry of Finance, ensure the provision of customs benefits to the foreign personnel of joint ventures.

35. State enterprises, associations, and organizations are granted the right to adopt decisions on the creation of joint ventures or international associations and organizations with foreign organizations and firms with the consent of the superior management organ.

Production cooperatives create joint ventures or international associations and organizations with the participation of foreign organizations and firms with the consent of, accordingly, the council of ministers of a union republic not divided into oblasts, the autonomous republic council of minjsters, the krayispolkom, the oblispolkom, the Moscow Gorispolkom, or the Leningrad Gorispolkom according to the location of the cooperative or with the consent of the ministry (department) under whose enterprise (organization, institution) the cooperative has been formed.

New construction or large-scale reconstruction in the creation of joint ventures or international associations and organizations are carried out with the consent of the territorial management organs.

In other cases the Soviet participants in joint ventures or international associations and organizations provide the territorial management organs with relevant information.

Production cooperatives engage in direct production, scientific, and technical ties with enterprises and organizations from socialist countries and in coastal and border trade with the relevant countries subject to permission and procedures laid down by the council of ministers of a union republic not divided into oblasts, an autonomous republic council of ministers, a krayispolkom, an oblispolkom, the Moscow Gorispolkom, or the Leningrad Gorispolkom (according to the location of the cooperative) taking into account current regulations governing the procedure for implementing such ties.

The USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry, jointly with the USSR Foreign Ministry and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, must submit within 3 months and according to established procedures suggestions for direct economic relations between enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations in the Far Eastern Economic Region and firms and organizations from countries in the Asian-Pacific region.

Beginning in 1989, the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry, together with interested enterprises, associations, organizations, ministries, and departments should organize international tenders to attract foreign organizations and firms and Soviet enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations to participate on a competitive basis in the implementation of cooperation projects in the Far Eastern Economic Region.

Particular Questions of Foreign Economic Activity

36. The USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, together with the USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and the USSR Academy of Sciences, must engage in constant analysis of contemporary problems of the development of world economic ties and their interaction with the USSR's economy, and the combination of the planned nature of the USSR national economy's development with the utilization of commodity-money relations in the foreign economic sphere and the deepening of joint operations with firms, banks, and organizations in foreign countries in line with the strategy for the development of the USSR's foreign economic ties.

The USSR Academy of Sciences Far Eastern Department should analyze the implementation of the Long-Term State Program for the Comprehensive Development of Productive Forces in the Far Eastern Economic Region, the Buryat ASSR, and Chita Oblast Through the Year 2000 as regards the development of the export orientation of national economic complexes in the Far East and the Transbaykal region, and should organize on a permanent basis and with participation by interested enterprises, associations, organizations, ministries, departments, and local ispolkoms the elaboration of problems concerning the development of these territories' foreign economic ties.

37. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration of State Customs Control, and the USSR Ministry of Justice must prepare, together with interested USSR ministries and departments and the Councils of Ministers of union republics concerned, and must submit to the USSR Council of Ministers during the 1st quarter of 1989 proposals for creating in the USSR, and primarily in the Far Eastern Economic Region, "joint enterprise zones" where joint ventures with foreign participants will be concentrated and covering the possible status and location of such zones.

38. The USSR Gosbank, the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, and the USSR Ministry of Finance should elaborate and submit to the USSR Council of Ministers during the 1st quarter of 1989 specific proposals for the phased development of the Soviet ruble's partial convertibility in foreign currencies.

39. The USSR Gosplan, the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Gosbank, and the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity should submit to the USSR Council of Ministers during the 1st quarter of 1989 proposals to improve the structure of the consolidated foreign currency plan (USSR balance of payments).

40. The provisions of this resolution applying to production cooperatives also apply to all cooperatives implementing production activity and to their unions (associations).

41. USSR ministries and departments are instructed to make changes to the relevant departmental normative documents, instructions, and methodological directives in the light of the demands of the present resolution.

The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the USSR Ministry of Justice, together with the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Gossnab, the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Gosbank, the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, and other interested ministries and departments, must prepare and submit to the USSR Council of Ministers within 2 months proposals on making changes to current legislation in line with this resolution.

Economist Discusses New Currency Regulations

PM2312135088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Candidate of Economic Sciences B. Fedorov "Economic Review": "On the Subject of Currency"]

[Text] The newspapers recently published a USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Further Developing the Foreign Economic Activity of State, Cooperative, and Other Public Enterprises, Associations, and Organizations." It is a radical document that has vindicated the boldest hopes. The resolution opened the way to foreign economic ties for all enterprises and production cooperatives whose output is competitive on the foreign market (true, it is not clear who will determine the level of competitiveness—the market, or some department or other?). A whole series of restrictions on joint enterprises have been lifted. Thus the Soviet and foreign participants' shares of the incorporation capital are determined by agreement, and it is not now obligatory for the Soviet side to have at least 51 percent of the capital. But the central question in the new government decisions is indisputably that of currency.

Only recently the currency problem apparently did not exist—no one received currency, no one paid any attention to the exchange rate, and all foreign economic ties were strictly confined to the state budget. Today this problem literally permeates the foreign activity of many departments and enterprises. It is symptomatic, in my view, that the resolution does not mention the currency monopoly (a concept "invented" long after the Leninist monopoly of foreign trade), but that is the point at issue,

or rather, overcoming it and turning enterprises into the true owners of the foreign currency they themselves have earned. It is of fundamental importance that from the 1st quarter of next year enterprises will receive the right to currency as it comes in from a foreign client, that is to say, as in any other country, rather than at the end of the year, as is the practice in our country at present.

At the same time the system of "currency funds," whereby instead of real currency our exporter receives rubles and the "right to currency," is preserved. This means in practice that economically accountable enterprises—the only legitimate owners of the currency—are obliged to sell part of their earnings to the state at the official rate. So why not acknowledge frankly that in present-day conditions we are forced to do this? And enterprises should have the right to pay the currency that remains at their disposal into normal currency accounts that pay interest comparable with the terms offered by Western banks, or to sell it on the market at contract rates.

As for the currency market, the resolution makes provision for the free exchange of currency fund resources and the sale and purchase of these resources at contract prices at currency auctions organized by the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity. Thus 60 years after the abolition of the last stock exchanges in the USSR (10 out of 100 commodity exchanges had stock exchange sections, and the currency exchange rate at the Moscow commodity exchange was considered the official rate) and following the SFRY, the PRC, Poland, and Bulgaria, we have embarked on the market redistribution of currency resources. Here the only important thing is to ensure that the auctions—just one form of trade—do not push into the background the need to create a real currency market, in whose activity all banks and enterprises and the state would participate. Auctions will never give us an exchange rate to replace the official rate, and the state will not be able to go over to a flexible policy of currency regulation.

Unfortunately, it is not yet a question of the distribution of centralized currency resources primarily through the currency market and credits, although that is what the development of economic accountability requires. The time has come clearly to separate the currency (and borrowings) of the state from the currency (and borrowings) of departments, banks, and enterprises. Practice shows clearly that centralization cannot eliminate shortages, and the currency sphere is no exception.

It should be noted that the resolution touches on the question of currency credits (instead of the allocation of currency from the exchequer). This decision is undoubtedly necessary and long overdue.

It is extremely important, for instance, that enterprises can now distinguish currency credits from their entire currency earnings, not only currency funds. However, it is not quite clear why it is not the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity that determines the extent of credits according to concrete circumstances (the level is set at the sum of up to R5 billion), and why the USSR Gosplan should set annual ceilings on currency resources for the bank for this purpose.

The majority of economists are beginning to realize that only the market rate can really be substantiated and it alone can act as an objective indicator of the state of foreign economic ties. In this respect one cannot but welcome the new decisions on the exchange rage: the transition, as the resolution says, from 1 January 1991, in calculations concerning foreign economic operations, to a new exchange rate, the gradual abolition of differentiated currency coefficients, and the application from 1 January 1990 of a "100-percent increase in the exchange rate of freely convertible currency against the ruble." These decisions have aroused special interest in the Western business press and were commented on—from the most diverse viewpoints—throughout the world.

At the same time many questions arise. First and foremost the waste of time is worrying, because the reform of the currency system is again being postponed for 2 years. We have already lost 2 years with the introduction of differentiated currency coefficients, which are now being abolished. Yet it was clear from the first that thousands of surrogate exchange rates run counter both to world experience and to the course of developing the commodity-money relationship, and rob foreign economic ties of the cost "pivot." Now, however, another 2 years have to elapse before the introduction of the new rate, and the hope, I believe, is a simple one: By that time perhaps it will be possible to complete pricing reforms. The old stereotype is in operation, whereby a "good" rate can be calculated by means of comparing prices. But every currency expert since the times of K. Marx has known that the exchange rate and price relationships (parity of purchasing power) are not the same thing.

No one, anywhere, sets exchange rates on the basis of prices. The most logical thing would be, until the transition to a market rate for the ruble, to use a flexibly changing rate that would ensure the profitability of at least two-thirds of exports of finished products. In this respect the "100-percent increase" could be insufficient. But there is nothing reprehensible about that, and the new rate should be extended not only to exports and imports, but also to nontrade operations (tourists).

The speediest abolition of differentiated currency coefficients and the transition to a single, economically justified exchange rate, the creation of the rudiments of a currency market, and the expansion of the foreign economic autonomy of enterprises are necessary steps toward convertibility of the ruble—its component parts. Naturally, these components are intended to resolve concrete economic tasks, and are basically instruments of economic policy.

One has the impression that the objective process of reducing the state's administrative participation in foreign economic ties in favor of scientifically substantiated regulation is beginning to gather speed. There is no other way to solve the problems of increasing the competitiveness of Soviet output and eliminating the chronic shortage of convertible currency and the inefficiency of its utilization. The currency question, the question of the convertibility of the ruble, is undoubtedly central to this process. A new currency mechanism and a new currency policy are needed, that will fit in with full economic accountability and finally promote free access to foreign markets.

Scientific

Molniya-1 Communications Satellite Launched

LD2912080088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0740 GMT 29 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 29 Dec (TASS)—On 28 December 1988 the launch of another Molniya-1 communications satellite was carried out in the Soviet Union by a Molniya carrier rocket. The satellite is intended for ensuring the operation of long-distance telegraph and telephone radio communications and also the transmission of USSR Central Television Programs to points of the Orbita network.

The satellite has been put into a high elliptical orbit with an apogee of 38,870 km in the northern hemisphere and a perigee of 654 km in the southern hemisphere. The satellite's period of orbit is 11 hours 40 minutes, orbital inclination 62.8 degrees.

Communications sessions via the Molniya-1 satellite will be held in accordance with the planned program.

'Leading' Scientist on Chernobyl Study Progress

LD2212142088 Moscow TASS in English 1302 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Kiev December 22 TASS—Fuel samples from the fourth reactor building at the Chernobyl nuclear power station, which was damaged at a 1986 accident and has since been encased in steel and concrete, have shown that there is neither a chain reaction nor any dangerous abnormalities in the fuel's condition, according to a leading Soviet atomic scientist.

Igor Kambulov heads a group from the Igor Kurchatov Institute of Nuclear Energy, which is conducting a comprehensive study of the situation at the Chernobyl station.

"Our mission is to investigate the damaged building and find out the whereabouts, amount and condition of radioactive debris," he said.

"It is also essential to predict how it will behave, and take measures to rule out any possibility of a spontaneous chain reaction.

"This is why we continuously monitor the situation using television and still cameras and take regular instrument readings," the scientist explained.

The results of the study, he went on, support data passed by Soviet specialists on to the International Atomic Energy Agency, including their estimates that 95 to 96 per cent of the fuel remained inside the damaged reactor building.

The sarcophagus, the massive protective covering built over the generating unit after the accident, was designed to last for 30 years and "we are now considering options for neutralising the remaining fuel," Kambulov said.

He added that one of the options was burying the crippled reactor under an earthen mound.

"Attractive as it appears, I personally find it more expedient to retrieve the fuel and rebury it dependably in a special site. This is techically feasible," Kambulov continued. He admitted, however, the job would take time and cost a lot.

As an example, the scientist pointed to the U.S. Three-Mile Island nuclear power station which also has had an accident. The Americans are still retrieving fuel and sending it for burial elsewhere. This work continues although the accident took place in 1979.

To the question of when similar operations could start at Chernobyl, Kambulov said that this or another option had first to be chosen, after weighing all cons and pros.

"At this stage efforts are being directed at making the protective structure more reliable and reduce to a minimum the influence of the crippled reactor on the environment.

"Much is being done to improve working conditions for the station's personnel and wide-ranging and long-term research efforts are under way," the scientist said.